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ABSTRACT

The first in a series of four histories of native Nevadans, this volume presents the story of the Southern Paiutes, or Nuwuvi. Based on interviews with tribal members and research conducted at numerous archives and record centers, the history begins with a description of the ancient culture and territory of the many Nuwuvi bands that lived, hunted, and planted in the western chains of the Rocky Mountains. Chapter two describes the first contacts with non-Indians, beginning in 1776 with Spanish explorers and including early traders and trappers. Chapter three discusses the opening of the Old Spanish Trail in 1830 and the impact of subsequent regular commercial travel across Nuwuvi lands. Chapters four and five chronicle the coming of permanent white settlers, conflicts between Indians and settlers, the usurpation of Nuwuvi lands, and the Indian slave trade. Emphasis is placed on the role of the Mormons, the first and largest group to settle in Nuwuvi territory. The final chapter provides the histories of four Nuwuvi reservations (Moapa, Shivwits, Las Vegas, and Cedar City), detailing numerous problems and abuses of Indian rights in connection with the establishment of those reservations. The book includes seven Nuwuvi legends, maps, photographs, and illustrations. Appendices contain a chronology of key events from 1700 to the present, a history of Nuwuvi land claims, footnotes, and a bibliography. (JH)

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NUWUVI:

A Southern Paiute History

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INTRODUCTION

Since the arrival of the white man, Native American children have been taught the ways and accomplishments of the newcomers. Schools have presented our past from a foreign point of view. This formal education practically insured the indoctrination or the failure of our young. Our people have learned of "their" discoveries in our land, "their" heroes in our wars, and "their" victories over our people.

Though several historians have displayed a sensitivity for Indian life and culture, many have seen our reality from a distant vantage point. We have heard our beloved lands called "harsh," and our existence termed "savage." It is no wonder that their education has not had a positive effect on our lives. In their eyes, we have nothing in our past to be proud of.

This history, the first in a series of four dealing with native Nevadans, will present the past of southern Nevada from the Nuwuvi point of view. Our elders have preserved much of the past by telling and retelling the events which have shaped our lives. No history can attain complete objectivity; it can only present a point of view, a particular way to talk and think about the events of the past. All events have more than one interpretation. This is ours.



*Las Vegas Paiutes drawn by Dorothy Nez
from a John K. Hillers photograph*

"Corn Is Brought to the Earth"*

In early days people were very hungry and very poor, and they were small in stature because of their scanty food.

One day an old woman called to her son and told him to go up beyond the sky and see if he could find some better food than what they then had. But the boy hesitated, saying, "What shall I ride?" When the boy continued to refuse, the old woman held him up in her hand and blew him away. He rose right into the Heavens. Passing beyond the skies, he came into the country inhabited by Shinau-av (Coyote).

When he saw the boy coming, Shinau-av said, "What do you seek in this land? Are you a thief?" The boy said, "No, I seek for better food for my people." And Shinau-av said, "Perhaps you are a spy and at night will cut our throats." But the boy denied this accusation and plainly explained to him why he was there. Shinau-av placed before him some food and the boy ate. Then Shinau-av gave him a drink of the wine of the skies, *u-wu-pa* (juice of the cactus apple). When the boy was finished, Shinau-av sent him to lie down a little way outside his camp.

Shinau-av said to himself, "If he becomes drunk from this wine, he is an enemy, but if he drinks to his fill and still retains his understanding, he means well."

The boy slept and seemed not to be affected by the wine which had been given him. When morning came, Shinau-av called the boy to him and set food before him and again gave him a drink of the wine of the sky. The boy again drank his fill and still kept his understanding.

Shinau-av said, "This is a good boy, and I will trust him." So he gave him some seeds of *haweave* (Indian corn) and told him to return. He also gave him a jug filled with wine to drink on his journey.

* Powell, John Wesley, "Ute and Paiute Legends," Microfilm, Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

The boy left Shinau-av's home and passed through the sky and came down again to earth. When he arrived, all the people gathered about him. They wanted to hear his story of that land beyond the sky and to know if he had succeeded in his search for some better food. The boy told the people what he had seen, but didn't tell them about the wonderful wine of the sky which he had drunk. Shinau-av had warned him not to before he had started.

The seeds which the boy had brought were planted, and they grew through the summer. Every day the people came to see them, to watch their growth, and to keep away insects and animals that might destroy them. When *ta'-mum* (autumn) came and the corn was ripe, they gathered together and held a great festival. They danced the *haweave-wanum* (corn dance), and they ate of the corn and found it very sweet and very good. The remainder of the corn was kept for another year for seed. Thus it was that the *haweave* was brought from beyond the skies.

The Nuwuvi

The people who grew the *hawcave* were the "Nuwuvi" or as they are called today, the Southern Paiutes. Their tribe is one of a large number of related Indian peoples who inhabited the western chains of the Rocky Mountains, the Colorado Plateau, and the Great Basin. Although culturally related to such tribes as the Shoshone, the Utes, and the Northern Paiutes, the Nuwuvi spoke a slightly different language and had their own separate cultural identity. They normally lived in peace with these surrounding tribes, for the Nuwuvi were a peaceful people who spent their days quietly following their ancient lifestyle.

The Nuwuvi lifestyle was closely tied to the awe-inspiring land which surrounded them. They were a people of the land. Their lives were not only deeply involved in the cycles of nature, but were completely dependent on them. If one did not live in harmony with the surrounding world, nature could become hostile. If one did not know how to use what the land offered, one would not survive. The Nuwuvi knew these things. Most of all they knew that they loved and respected the earth and felt a deep kinship with all living things. They knew that *tu-weap* (the earth) would give them what they needed if they knew how to take it.

The land of the Nuwuvi covered a large area of the Southwest. On the eastern edge was the Colorado River with its complex maze of red rock canyons. The Colorado is a mighty river, and its long, deep canyon separated most of the Nuwuvi from the Utes and Navajos to the east. Some Nuwuvi, however, did live along the San Juan River, near Navajo Creek, and around Moencopi Wash. All these areas were to the south and east of the Colorado River.

The Colorado's tributaries on the west flow down from a series of high mountain plateaus, some of which still bear names given them by the Nuwuvi. Such is true of Kaiparowits, Kaibab, Paunsagunt, Markagunt, and Uinkaret Plateaus. The higher plateaus are covered with green forests which hide the large game which the

Nuwuvi once hunted. Amid the forests are clear, blue lakes filled with fish that were caught by the Nuwuvi.

The Nuwuvi lived and hunted among the plateaus as far north as Fish Lake and the Tushar Mountains to the northeast of Beaver, Utah. On the edges of these plateaus are magnificent red and yellow cliffs. Cutting through them are deep, beautiful canyons. The Nuwuvi wandered in areas that include present-day Zion Canyon, Bryce Canyon and Grand Canyon National Parks. They viewed these places with reverence for the sheer power of the land.

West of the plateaus of Utah and Arizona is the Virgin River. It runs from its eastern beginnings on the edge of the Markagunt Plateau toward the southwest, until it joins the Colorado River in Southern Nevada. It goes through the eastern end of one of the driest areas in North America. The green valleys of the river's many tributaries are havens in the desert. On the banks of streams like Ash Creek, Santa Clara River, and Muddy Creek, all of which flow into the Virgin, the Nuwuvi had many farms and gardens.

To the north and west of those streams is the Great Basin. Within it all streams drain inward rather than in the general direction of the ocean. This huge basin was inhabited by several tribes, almost all of whom were related speakers of Shoshonean languages. The Nuwuvi were firmly in control of the southern end of this basin.

The Great Basin is broken up by rugged mountain chains. The larger chains are forested and hide game. These mountains were hunting areas for the Nuwuvi in Nevada in the same way the plateaus were for those in Utah. In both places there were pine forests where the essential food, pine nuts, were gathered.

Between the mountain ranges are desert valleys. Nuwuvi gathered desert vegetation and hunted small game like rabbits in these valleys. At the feet of the mountains are often springs from which small streams run. These streams sometimes disappear and reappear again and again as they cross the desert floors. The Nevada Nuwuvi had their campsites and, occasionally, their farms near the springs.

Nuwuvi territory extended south along the Colorado River to the Cottonwood area. South of this area were the Mohaves, with whom the Nuwuvi occasionally fought. Only the Chemehuevis, a Nuwuvi-speaking band who had moved south, normally lived in peace with the Mohave. To the west, Nuwuvi lands extended into

the Mohave Desert of southern California. On the north, the boundary between the Nuwuvi and Shoshones ran northeast from Death Valley to Utah, north of the Needle Mountain Range.

Within this large area were many bands of Nuwuvi which varied greatly in size. Most Nuwuvi lived in small family groups or by themselves if they were unmarried. These groups normally lived by a spring or on land near a stream. Each considered the land and spring to be their own, and although they might not live there the entire year, they returned to the site regularly. Some of these extended families were large enough to be a separate band who lived closely together near the best farmland or biggest springs, but owned a much larger territory in common. Most families, although living apart, considered themselves part of a larger band. These bands were set off from the other Nuwuvi by closer ties such as came through regular visits or cooperative hunting and gathering expeditions, shared territory, or sometimes, a slightly different dialect.

As whites began to invade Nuwuvi lands in larger and larger numbers, the Nuwuvi were forced to congregate in bigger groups. At this point the bands became more clearly defined. It became necessary for more of the Nuwuvi to cooperate in order to survive. Many of these new groups were centered around one or more influential or powerful individuals. The Nuwuvi had always looked to certain men with special respect. Their powers and responsibilities had normally been limited to such cooperative projects as leading and directing a hunt. After the whites came, men like Tutsegavit, Toquer, Awanap, Kanarra, Toshop, and Taugu gained greater influence, sometimes because whites used them to try and gain control over the Nuwuvi, but usually because they were able to help their people in times of great need. The Nuwuvi remained, however, an independent and individualistic people. No leader had unquestionable power, and any could easily be removed from even limited power if his band grew dissatisfied with him. The leader's increased influence was always only a temporary development which arose out of the traditionally loose cooperation of the original bands.

Of the many bands of various sizes, nineteen were most important. Furthest east were the San Juan Nuwuvi who lived south and east of the Colorado River in what is now the northern part of

the Navajo Reservation. Their lands extended as far south in Arizona as Moencopi Wash and Black Mesa.

On the western side of the river was the Kaiparowits band who roamed the Kaiparowits and Aquarius Plateaus between the Henry Mountains and the Paria River. Southwest of them were the Kaibab Nuwuvi who lived around the Kaibab Plateau and further north in the area of Pipe Springs, Arizona and Kanab, Utah. West of them were the Uinkarits who lived around Mt. Trumbull and the Uinkaret Plateau. The other major band who occupied northern Arizona was the Shivwits. Their homeland was between the Virgin and Colorado Rivers on the north and south and the Hurricane Cliffs and Virgin Mountains on the east and west. Their central campsites were around the Shivwits Plateau.

North of the Kaiparowits were the Koosharem. These Indians lived in central Utah near Fish Lake and the present-day Koosharem Reservation. They actually may have been Utes and were probably the same group known as the Fish Lake Utes by the first settlers. However, they associated with Nuwuvi and came to be considered as such.

Along the South Fork of the Sevier River between the Paunsagunt and Markagunt Plateaus were the camps of the Paguuts. During the summer, this band moved up on the Markagunt Plateau to hunt. During the winter they camped near Panguitch Lake, which took its name from them. On the northern end of Nuwuvi territory was the Kwiumpits band, who lived in the game-rich valley of the Beaver River at the foot of the Tushar Mountains. Far out west near the Nevada border was an isolated band of Nuwuvi living at the foot of Indian Peak in the Needle Range. They and their reservation have come to be called after the peak.

In Cedar Valley where Coal Creek flows off the plateau was a band whom the first settlers called the "Piedes" and who are now called simply the "Cedar Paiutes." Their own name was Kumoits. The Nuwuvi who lived along the Virgin River were called Paroosits, which was taken from the name of the river. They lived along the river as far west as where it entered the mountains.

The Santa Clara River was the homeland of the Tonoquints, one of the largest bands. This river was the central core of all the Nuwuvi territory, and the size of the Tonoquint band reflected this fact. If

there was any band larger, it was the Moapits, who lived west of the Tonopquints on the banks of the Muddy River.

North of the Moapits were the Matisabits or Panaca Nuwuvi. They lived at the north end of Meadow Valley Wash near the present-day towns of Panaca and Pioche. West of them in the Pahranaagat Valley were the Pahranaagits. Southwest of the Pahranaagits were the Kwiengomits who lived in the area of present-day Indian Springs. Centered around Las Vegas, Red Rock, and Mt. Charleston were the Pegesits who lived as far east as present-day Hoover Dam.

On the western edge of Nevada were the Pahrumpits. They lived in Pahrump Valley and on the western slopes of the Spring Mountains. The southern end of Nuwuvi territory was occupied by the Movweits on the north of the Mohaves and by the Chemehuevis on the south.

All of these bands as well as the many smaller ones thought of themselves as one people. They were all *Nuwuvi* which meant to them "the Indians." They shared a culture which had a special attachment to the land. Their lifestyle was simple, but most of all it was peaceful and in harmony with the land of many contrasts in which they lived. The land provided what the people needed, and they knew where to find the sources of food, water, and materials from which to make tools, clothing, and shelter. Often it has been asserted that the Nuwuvi barely were surviving in a harsh environment. They were actually a culturally well-adapted people in an area with varied natural resources. Little is known about the specific resources they used because Anglo settlers destroyed much of the plant and animal life of the area.

Most Nuwuvi economic activities were undertaken by individual families, although many families of the same band often gathered together for communal deer hunts, rabbit drives, and celebrations. An informal council of the adults made the decisions. These councils chose men of good reputation for knowledge or strength or persons with special powers to lead the hunts or ceremonies, but as has been pointed out, their powers were limited.

In earlier years larger bands did not have one chief or leader who had authority over the entire band. Instead there were several leaders, each of whom was limited in influence to a local camp or

group of camps. This was true despite the fact that the leader may have been chosen to a position by members of the entire band. When a new leader was needed, it was common for the local group to call in men from the entire band for consultation.¹ Although a relative of the preceding leader might be chosen, this was not necessary, and the position did not normally pass from father to son. The smaller bands naturally had fewer leaders, and the closer a band lived together, the more likely it was that it only had one leader.

The two most important responsibilities which a leader had, were to lead hunting trips and to direct his people in their seasonal movements to different campsites. He roused the camp in the morning so that the day's activities could begin. He then led the hunting party to the area where the hunt was to occur, an area which he chose. If the hunt was to be cooperative instead of each hunter stalking his own game, he continued to direct the operation. This set of circumstances would normally apply to hunting larger game. Different leaders were often chosen to lead a rabbit hunt; quite often this was whoever owned rabbit nets. Still another type of leader was chosen to lead the celebrations and dances. He was responsible for deciding when the dance would be held and then organizing it.

All the Nuwuvi made their living by hunting and gathering. Most bands also farmed to some degree, although its importance to their survival varied greatly from band to band. Some bands such as the Paguits fished, but this activity was, of course, limited to areas where there were good-sized lakes or rivers. In the entire Nuwuvi area there were only a handful of bodies of water of sufficient fish-bearing capacity to make the occupation worthwhile.

Each season of the year had its specific activities. After the long winter, the spring was surely welcome and was a time of great activity. Along the streams, near lakes, and in the low hills the snow first melted and plant life once again grew. The Nuwuvi gathered the stems and leaves of the edible plants, which were cooked or eaten raw as greens.² The early spring was always the most difficult part of the year. The stores from the previous fall had to be carefully stretched to last until new plants arrived. Plants like mescal which could be eaten at this time of year gained increased importance in Nuwuvi diet. Deer were often hunted as they migrated to higher

altitudes even though most hunting was done in the fall. Small game like rabbits also became an important survival food at this time.

Later in the spring or early summer was the time to till and sow the farmlands. The fields were carefully prepared: brush was burned, roots were dug out; and the ground was tilled and watered before planting. Corn, squash, beans, pumpkins, and sunflowers were grown. There were four different colors of corn—white, blue, yellow, and red. Some of each color were saved from the last year's crop. The crops usually were planted in rows, and holes were made for the seeds with a specially shaped stick whose end was flattened like a shovel. It is likely that the Nuwuvi used a method of irrigation like that of the Pueblo Indians. Corn was planted in small mounds,³ and diverted water was let to flow into the fields. One known irrigation ditch was a half-mile long, four feet wide and four feet deep, and had been dug through a gravel bed by using only wooden spades. A nearby dam was constructed of logs and brushwood and conveyed the water toward the farm.⁴

Some of the Nuwuvi, especially those living in drier regions away from rivers, used another method of watering crops. Rather than planting in rows, pits about three feet across and six inches deep were dug. The plants were watered by allowing rain water to collect and by bringing water from springs.

Nuwuvi farmed along streams such as the Virgin, the Santa Clara, Ash Creek, Beaver Dam Wash, and the Muddy River, as well as at numerous springs. There is also evidence that farming techniques and crops used by the Nuwuvi spread to other peoples living to the north in Death Valley and Steptoe Valley.⁵

The Nuwuvi left their farms after planting time to go out gathering wild plant life, and they returned after the crops had sprouted and the farms needed weeding and tending. The families traveled the valleys of their band's land gathering seeds, roots and other edible plant parts. They prayed and talked wherever they went, asking the land, the plants, or the animals for whatever they took, and always leaving portions as offerings of gratitude.

The women carried their gathering and cooking implements in large conical shaped baskets called "burden baskets," which were worn on the back. Although some of the Nuwuvi made pottery, most of their domestic objects were various forms of basketry. The

pottery that was made was constructed out of coils of pounded clay mixed with water. The bottoms of the pots were either flattened with coils added for sides or pointed so they could be stuck in the ground. Pottery was usually made by women, but in bands where it was a less common craft, a particular man might specialize in the skill. Because of their rarity, pots were a common trade item between bands and with other tribes.

The fact that baskets were more common was only practical since pottery is heavy and the Nuwuvi gathering economy required mobility. It was necessary to keep possessions at a minimum. Each woman had one set of harvesting and cooking baskets, including food bowls, winnowing-parching trays, seed beaters, and assorted sizes of cooking baskets. The women also made intricate cradle boards with which to carry their babies and basketry hats to protect them from the sun. Water jars or "ollas" were very serviceable on gathering trips into dry regions.

Plants, seeds, and roots were gathered throughout the summer and especially during the fall. The Nuwuvi knew when each edible plant would be ripe and where it could be found. Seeds were gathered in close-twined conical baskets. Their preparation for eating often involved several stages. The seeds were hulled, if necessary, on a "metate" or grinding stone. They were then winnowed in large, fan-shaped trays especially designed for this purpose. After the hulls had been cleaned out, the seeds often were parched with charcoal in the basket trays. This step in the process required considerable skill, because one had to keep tossing the seeds and charcoal to parch the seeds evenly and to keep the basket from burning. Some of the seeds and roots were cached and stored for winter use. Seeds were often ground and stored as flour, which was later mixed with water to make a mush or gruel.

Among the native plants used by the Nuwuvi were mesquite and screw beans. They were collected and prepared in the manner described above. Mesquite beans also were used as a sort of candy, being broken and sucked for their sweetness. Different varieties of the yucca were used for soap, and the leaves provided fiber for the manufacture of various items, such as fine cordage. The heart (or the base of the leaves) of the agave was roasted and baked, providing a sweet food, and some parts were preserved in the form of pounded

cakes, often used as travel food. A fermented drink called "mescal" was made from the yant, a mountain agave.

Pine nuts were an important part of the Nuwuvi diet. They were eaten raw, roasted and cooked, and were preserved in the form of pine nut flour. The inner bark of the pine nut tree also served as food and the wood as fuel. The sap or sunip was used for chewing and a coarser grade for mending, cementing and waterproofing.⁶ It was also used for spiritual purposes such as warding off ghosts. Berries such as juniper, currant, and raspberry were eaten fresh; others such as serviceberry and eesi were dried. The eesi was made into a beverage. Nuwuvi still enjoy this delicious drink today.

The Nuwuvi also used native plant life for medical purposes. They commonly drank tea made from such plants as yarrow, Indian tea, and sage brush in order to cure or relieve a variety of ailments. Sage brush was made into a tea used to assist in childbirth and as a remedy for headaches, colds, and worms. Another variety of sage was used in the treating of swellings and bruises. *Yerba santa* was used internally and externally in treating rheumatism, partial paralysis, and colds and was taken as a tea to remedy lung problems. Other plants were used as poultices for sprains and bruises and others to constrict the blood vessels to stop bleeding.⁷

The women were largely responsible for gathering plants, and the men hunted. Deer was the chief large-game animal and was hunted in the late summer and fall. Almost the entire deer was utilized; some of it was dried and some smoked. The brains were used in the tanning process. Though desert big horn sheep and antelope were also hunted, they were less plentiful. Bows made of both wood and horn were used; they were commonly backed by sinew. Arrows were made using points of stone or greasewood for the tips and eagle or flicker feathers to insure a straight flight.

Small game was hunted throughout the year. Rabbits and various rodents were the most important. Hunting was done by lone hunters and by groups of men. Large-scale rabbit drives required cooperation. The Nuwuvi made large nets, into which rabbits were driven, ensnared and beaten with rabbit sticks.

Fall was the most important season for hunting. This was the time of the year when the Nuwuvi moved to the higher levels on the plateaus and in the mountains. There they hunted deer and

gathered their essential pine nut supplies. Pine nuts were particularly important because they were the basic element in the food stores for the coming winter.

During the fall, while food stores were prepared for the winter, houses were built or old ones repaired. During the summer, brush shelters were made for windbreaks or sleeping. The winter required more substantial homes called *kanees*. There were many different types of *kanees*. A common type was made by constructing dome-like frames of supple but sturdy branches covered with layers of bark stripped from junipers or grass or brush. Smoke holes were left in the top of each *kanees*. Various other types of shelter were used, including in later years tipis adopted from the Utes.

During the long winter months, the Nuwuvi occupied themselves with the manufacture of various implements such as baskets, cordage, and clothing. Clothing usually was made of cliffrose bark, especially the skirts the women wore. Dresses and shirts also were made of antelope and buckskin. Men commonly wore buckskin shirts, leggings, and breechcloths. Sandals made of yucca were preferable for winter footwear, while hide moccasins more commonly were worn in the summer. Rabbit skins were used to make blankets that were tied about the chest as a cape.

Nuwuvi baskets were made in two basically different ways. They were coiled or twined. Some women preferred to make them out of willow, while others considered squawbush to be a superior material.⁸ Twined baskets became more common in later years, but formerly such baskets as burden baskets, cooking baskets, food bowls, winnowing trays, and water jars were commonly coiled. The latter were usually water-proofed with pine pitch. All types of baskets were twined although there were several different methods and results depending on the basket's use. For instance, burden baskets intended to carry large articles in such situations as when moving camp, had a much more open twine than baskets used for gathering seeds or pine nuts.

Some of the baskets were decorated, usually with the fibers of a greyish-black plant called "devil's horn" or "claws." These were woven in intricate patterns through the light-colored willow. Woven designs were never planned before-hand on the basis of established patterns. Instead, the basket-maker allowed her imagination to create



Wu-nav-ai gathering seeds in the Moapa Valley. On the ground in the foreground is a loosely twined burden basket. A John K. Hillers photograph. (courtesy Smithsonian Institution)



Two Nuwuvi pausing to eat while working in an old salt mine on the Virgin River. Several important products and tools of Nuwuvi culture are displayed. (courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

a design as she worked. Other decorations were sometimes created by rubbing on colors such as would come from crushed buffaloberries. The finished baskets were often quite beautiful and bore the mark of great craftsmanship.

Winter was the time for telling stories. Some stories could never be told in the summer or a sidewinder would bite the narrator. The favorite time for telling them was in the evening while sitting around a fire or while lying in bed before falling asleep. The stories were about a large variety of subjects. Some were intended to be moral lessons in behavior while others were strictly entertaining. They helped explain to the Nuwuvi the world around them. The stories often centered around the religious figures of Tobats and Shinau-av who both also had distinctly human and animalistic characteristics. Songs were always an important part of the storytelling. The conversational passages were quite often sung, depending upon the character involved. A particular song was always associated with a particular character no matter the story in which he was taking part.⁸ The Nuwuvi had many songs and stories which were preserved by specially gifted storytellers. These storytellers were normally older men who created new songs or poems, or sometimes acquired them through dreams while preserving the traditional stories of their people.

Along with the songs and oral poetry, the Nuwuvi also had a rich tradition of dancing. Dances and the bigger celebrations were among the few situations which brought the normally independent Nuwuvi together in large groups. The "Circle" or "Round" dance, "The Cry," and the "Bear" dance were the three major dances performed by most of the Nuwuvi. The most common of these was the circle dance. It could be danced at almost any time, merely depending on when the people felt the desire. The dance was primarily for fun or community entertainment, and it also provided a good opportunity for courtship between the young. It was usually performed around a juniper or other tree with people holding hands while dancing clockwise. It was accompanied by singing led by a particular man or woman who enjoyed singing. There were many, many songs to accompany the dance, and they were about numerous subjects.¹⁰

These songs were acquired in the same way as those for the stories already mentioned.

"The Cry" was a dance honoring and showing respect for the dead. It was held for several days at a time, during which the people showed much grief and mourned heavily for those who had died. The bear dance was probably learned in later years from the Utes who lived north and east of the Nuwuvi. Men and women danced facing each other in a circular enclosure accompanied by the scraping of a notched stick and by singing. Women selected their partners, and the dancing continued off and on for several days." A story was told of how the dance came to be:

Once in the fall a man came to where a bear lay asleep in her hole. The man took off his clothes; he was naked. He had two partners with him. He told his partners, "Come back in March." He went in there and slept all winter with the bear.

His partners came back and talked to him. They asked, "Are you all right?" He said he was. He came out. He was all covered with hair. He could still talk. He told them not to be afraid; that he was still their partner. He said, "I'll give you a bear dance. I'll give you songs and the step. I will dance. My wife (the bear) and I will give them to you. Dance this in March. Now go and tell all the Indians." He told them, too, "Make a stick; cut notches in it. When you come back next time, I'll go with you."

They told the people, "He will give us a dance and songs. He has a bear wife now. He is covered with hair; he has claws now."

Ten days went by. He told them to tie all the dogs or his wife might get angry. He said, "The two of us will come now." Near sundown he talked to them: "I give you song; I give you dance. All right. You learn. I never more here." Then he left with his wife. He told his partners, "For ten years, don't kill any bear; you might be killing me."¹²

All of these dances were important parts of the inter-band celebrations or "big times." These were times for the Nuwuvi to come together and enjoy each other's company in unusually large groups. Along with dancing the Nuwuvi would play games, gamble, and hold races. The favorite game was the hand game which was played in teams with one team shuffling objects under a blanket while the other team tried to guess their location. Wagers were commonly made on the outcome.

Although the culture of the Nuwuvi was in many ways a quite simple lifestyle, it was in tune with the land around them. The Nuwuvi exploited the resources of that varied land carefully and successfully. They lived in peace with the land just as they did with each other and with most of their neighbors. Their lifestyle endured through centuries; much of it has endured until today. However, the arrival of a new group of men began rapid alteration in the lives of the Nuwuvi. The new intruders were different from other men the Nuwuvi had encountered. They were more aggressive and demanded that all men live as they did. The peaceful Nuwuvi resisted in their own way, but there were too many of the invaders; and the Nuwuvi eventually lost the struggle. In many ways this is a tragic story, for it involved the destruction of large parts of a people's lifestyle. However, it is not all tragedy. The Nuwuvi were able to endure as a people. They were not completely absorbed by the invaders. They managed to preserve their own identity, and now they can look at their own traditions, at their own special sense of life, and know that they have much there to be proud of and that they can continue to endure as Nuwuvi.

"Onga, Ogochiok, and Shinau-av
Go to a Distant Mountain to Gather
Pine Nuts"*

Onga (Canada jay), Ogochiok (Maximillian Jay), and Shinau-av went to a distant mountain for pine nuts. They had heard that many pine nut trees grew there, and they wanted to plant the seeds in their own land. As they came near the mountain, the people who lived there saw them coming and said to each other, "Here comes Shinau-av after pine nuts; let us fool him."

When the party arrived, they were treated with great kindness and feasted. But when they were about to depart, Shinau-av was given many cedar berries and was told they were the seeds of the pine nut tree. Then the travelers started for their homes, but when they were a little way off, great fear came upon them. This was because Ogochiok, who was very wise, had stolen some pine nuts and had hidden them in his top-knot, for he had discovered they were the true seeds. Then the travelers ran. Shinau-av, burdened with his load of cedar berries, scattered them as he went, but Ogochiok kept the pine nuts in his top-knot until he arrived on his own mountain. There the pine nuts were planted.

This is the reason why cedars grow on the lower hills and pine nut trees grow only on the mountains.

* Op. Cit., Powell, "Ute and Paiute Legends."

The First Intruders: Explorers, Traders, and Slavers

One of the first direct contacts between the Nuwuvi and Europeans occurred in 1776 with the Escalante-Dominguez exploration. These Spanish fathers, accompanied by ten men, traveled through Nuwuvi territory in hopes of finding a route connecting Santa Fe with the Spanish settlements at Monterey. They also hoped to begin missionary activities among new Indian peoples. Many of the Nuwuvi, especially those living southeast of the Colorado, had knowledge of the Spaniards prior to Escalante's expedition. This knowledge came from direct contact and from their correspondence and trade with other Indian nations. Some of the San Juan Nuwuvi living southeast of the Colorado adjacent to the Hopi had already contacted the Spanish. The governor of New Mexico in 1749, listed "Payuches" (Paiutes) as one of the Indian tribes who traded in New Mexico and stole from the Pueblos.¹

Even the more isolated Nuwuvi who lived on the other side of the Colorado, knew something of the Spanish through their relations with other tribes. Escalante, when among the Nuwuvi, suspected them of conspiring with the Hopis to mislead him. However, even though many of the Nuwuvi knew of the Spanish, the Escalante-Dominguez party of armed and mounted men passing through their country seizing Nuwuvi men and women caused a good deal of alarm.

Father Escalante's diary of the expedition contains valuable observations about Nuwuvi life-style prior to its disruption and also records information supplied to Escalante by the Nuwuvi themselves. Leaving Santa Fe in July of 1776, the Escalante-Dominguez expedition traveled north through Colorado to Utah Lake. After preaching to the Utes, the party turned south, passing through Pahvant territory. According to Escalante, on October 10th the party reached "Payuchis" territory, about 12 miles south of present-day Minersville, Utah. Nuwuvi territory actually extended somewhat further north.

At Coal Creek, north of Cedar City, Utah, the first contact between the expedition and the Nuwuvi occurred. About twenty Nuwuvi women were harvesting grass seed on the plain. Upon seeing the mounted and armed expedition, the women tried to flee but some were caught and "forcibly detained." These women, through the expedition's Ute interpreter, Joaquin, told Escalante that many of their people lived in the vicinity. They also helped the party determine its location with respect to the Rio Grande (Colorado River) by telling Escalante about a people wearing blue clothes and living south of the Colorado River, and by estimating its distance. Escalante decided that these people wearing blue clothes were the Havasupai. He also remarked that he "knew that the Payuchis traded only for red clothes."² After asking the women to notify their people that they came in peace, the Spanish released them.

Because the men of the expedition didn't know exactly where they were, they were anxious to obtain a "Payuchis" guide. Arriving at Ash Creek, they sighted and pursued a group of Nuwuvi, one of whom they captured.³ The captured Nuwuvi man carried "a large net very well made of hemp,"⁴ which he told the Spanish he had obtained from other Indians living down the Rio Grande. The Nuwuvi themselves also made such nets. He also informed Escalante that the Nuwuvi obtained colored shells from the same Indians. From this information Escalante assumed that the Nuwuvi were trading with the Cocomaricopa on the Gila River. The Hopi or Havasupai probably acted as middlemen.⁵

Escalante also learned that some colored woolen threads which the Nuwuvi man possessed were "purchased this summer from two of those who wear blue clothing and who crossed the river."⁶ Although Escalante believed the traders wearing blue clothing were Havasupai, "It is probable that the traders were in fact Hopi and were wearing native, indigo-dyed, apparel."⁷ The Nuwuvi had a lively trade with the Hopi, Havasupai, and Mohave. Extensive trade between the Nuwuvi and the Hopi villages was the predecessor to Hopi-Navaho trade.⁸ This trade between Nuwuvi and Hopi was undoubtedly an age-old pattern. Trade, even at the time Escalante noted it, involved both groups crossing the Colorado to meet one another. The Nuwuvi were trading actively with other nations, so

their economy must have been flourishing enough to create surplus goods.

The Nuwuvi captive understandably was reluctant to give the party much information, having been forcibly detained and fearing for the safety of his people. But he did confirm the distance to the Colorado River given by the Nuwuvi women. Escalante speculated that the Nuwuvi man knew more than he was telling but was being silent so as not to be "conscripted" as a guide. When questioned about the Spanish settlements to the west or west-northwest, the Nuwuvi said he knew nothing of them, "for although many people lived there, they were of the same language and tribe as himself."

The next day the Nuwuvi man led the expedition to his "rancho," where there was "an old Indian, a young man, several children and three women, all of them very good looking." Escalante remarked that "they had very good piñon nuts [pine nuts], date [yucca fruit], and some little sacks of maize."¹⁰ The Spanish conversed with the old man for a long time, but he would tell them no more than the other Nuwuvi with whom Escalante had spoken. The old man finally offered to guide the party, but only, wrote Escalante, "in order to get us away from there . . . and to give his family time to reach a place of safety. . . ."¹¹

The old man and the Nuwuvi captured previously led the party for a distance, but in a pass between two high sierras they disappeared. The party had to admire "their cleverness in having brought us through a place well suited to the sure and free execution of their plan . . ."¹² even though they were again without a guide.

Traveling further down Ash Creek to somewhere between the present-day towns of Toquerville and Pintura, the Spanish came to Nuwuvi farmlands. After noticing a large supply of corn in a Nuwuvi camp, Escalante observed that near the creek there were three small corn patches with "very well made irrigation ditches." The Spaniards quickly learned that "From here downstream and on the mesas on either side for a long distance, . . . live Indians who sustain themselves by planting maize and calabashes." They were extremely pleased by this discovery not only because it meant that the party could get food supplies, but also because in the eyes of the Spanish, farming meant that the Nuwuvi were prepared for "civilized life."¹³

Somewhat southwest of present-day Hurricane, Utah, the expedition camped. The next morning as they were leaving, they heard people shouting from behind them. Though apprehensive, eight Nuwuvi came down from the hills to trade. They displayed for barter "some sartas or strings of chalchihuite [stones of an emerald color], each string having a colored shell."¹⁴ Perhaps these strings of stones were an established medium of exchange used in trading with other Indian nations. The Nuwuvi traders spoke with the Spanish for two or three hours, advising them against going to the Colorado in the direction they had planned. The terrain was very bad, and the river was uncrossable at the point they would reach.

Escalante and Dominguez tried to secure a guide, but the Nuwuvi refused, saying they were barefoot and could not travel very well. This was probably a handy excuse or a joke because the Nuwuvi obviously knew the region thoroughly. Escalante suspected that the Hopis had encouraged the Nuwuvi to mislead him in order to keep Spaniards away from their villages.¹⁵ Two of the Nuwuvi finally agreed to put the Spaniards "on a good straight road." The Spanish began to follow the route which the Nuwuvi explained to them, even though they feared the Indians might be trying to lead them astray.

The expedition soon ran out of food and couldn't find water. Fortunately, the Nuwuvi were watching their movements. The party spotted five Indians watching them from a mesa. As the Spaniards passed the foot of the mesa, the Nuwuvi spoke to them but wouldn't come down. Escalante and some others climbed the mesa to where one of the Nuwuvi was hiding. After Escalante embraced him and professed brotherhood, the Nuwuvi "laid his bow and arrows on the ground, took the interpreter by the hand, and went with him to bring them [his companions]."¹⁶ The five came and spoke with the Spanish, informing them that water was near at hand. The Spanish "begged them to go and show it to us promising them a piece of woolen cloth."¹⁷

Three of the Nuwuvi led them to two large pools of good water at a place some 20 miles north of Mt. Trumbull, Arizona, where the party decided to camp. Fortunately for them the Nuwuvi were generous. Escalante wrote that after "learning that we came without provision, they told us to send one of our men with theirs to their

huts . . . and they would bring us some food." ¹⁸ Such generosity was the way of the Nuwuvi. A Spaniard and the Ute interpreter went with one of the Nuwuvi, bringing back "a small supply of wild sheep, dried tuna [prickly pear] made into cakes, and grass seeds." ¹⁹

The next day twenty Nuwuvi came to camp with "some cakes or loaves of tuna and several bags of seeds of various herbs to sell." ²⁰ The Spanish paid for the provisions and requested that the Nuwuvi bring more. After mid-day "many more Indians came with trade goods, among them being one who was said to be Mescalero Apache, and to have come with two others from his country to this one, crossing the river a few days previously. . . ." Escalante remarked that this Apache "was distinguished from the rest of the Indians by the disgust which he showed at seeing us here and by the greater display of animosity which we noticed he was purposely making." ²¹ This observation indicates that the Nuwuvi attitude toward the Spanish, though cautious, was friendly. Even though they probably knew of Spanish-Indian conflicts, they were willing to give the Spaniards an opportunity to develop good relations. Because of the rough environment in which they lived, it was an important part of Nuwuvi culture to be generous and friendly with strangers or visitors as long as they were not threatening.

These Nuwuvi traders were Uinkarits, a Nuwuvi band once occupying the Uinkaret Plateau between the Virgin River and the Colorado in northern Arizona which is now extinct. After mentioning the tribes surrounding their territory, one Nuwuvi indicated that he had already heard of the journey of Father Garcés ²² who traveled below the Colorado River earlier in the same year. This strengthened Escalante's suspicion that the Nuwuvi had been instructed by the Hopi not to serve as guides to the Spanish. Again, the Nuwuvi refused to guide the party to the Colorado and began to leave after the conversation.

The Spanish traveled northeast from Mt. Trumbull, meeting no more Nuwuvi until they approached the Paria River, east of Kanab, Utah. After making several turns in the mountain valley, the party discovered some fires near which there were three Nuwuvi kanees. Their interpreters were already there, having gone ahead of the main body of the party. ²³ Because they were unable to distinguish the number of men who were coming through the dark, most of the

Nuwuvi evacuated the camp, leaving only three men and two women, who said to Joaquin, the Ute, "Little Brother, you are of the same race as ourselves. Do not permit these people with whom you come to kill us." ²⁴ The Spanish calmed their fears somewhat, and the Nuwuvi gave them two roasted hares, pine nuts and showed them the watering place for animals. The area may have been a permanent Nuwuvi settlement, for Escalante noted that there were piñon and juniper trees, a small permanent stream and several pools of rain water nearby.

That night at the Nuwuvi village an interesting event occurred. Some of the men, among them Don Bernardo Miera, the expedition's map-maker, went to "one of the huts to chat with the Indians." Miera was ill and "an old Indian," wrote Escalante, "either because our men ordered it or because he wanted to, set about doctoring him with songs and ceremonies which, if not openly idolatrous were at least entirely superstitious. All of our people permitted them willingly, and among them the sick man." ²⁵ Although Escalante was outraged, the participants were either curious about Nuwuvi medicine and religion or hoped that the Nuwuvi doctor could cure Miera. Nuwuvi doctors were capable of working cures, and perhaps the Spaniards knew of their capabilities. Perhaps the old Nuwuvi man was "beating Escalante and Dominguez to the stick" and seeking converts to the Nuwuvi religion.

On the next day, the expedition was visited by many Nuwuvi from throughout the surrounding area. ²⁶ Again trading occurred. The following day twenty-six Nuwuvi assembled. Escalante took advantage of this opportunity and preached to the assemblage. ²⁷ Assuring the Nuwuvi that missionaries would return to them, the Escalante-Dominguez party finally left. After crossing the Colorado River with much difficulty, Escalante summed up his observations of the people whom he had met. He stated that in an area of approximately sixty by forty Spanish leagues (each league equalling about three miles), "there live a large number of people, all of pleasing appearance, very friendly, and extremely timid." ²⁸

After fording the Colorado, Escalante met some more of the Nuwuvi. On the rim of the canyon of Navajo Creek, the Spaniards found some Nuwuvi camps. These Nuwuvi, despite Spanish efforts to talk with them, refused to come near. Escalante felt that the Nuwuvi

suspected them of being friends of the Hopi with whom these Nuwuvi were not getting along.²⁸ Although refusing to visit with the Spanish, they finally told the Ute interpreter how the expedition, which had lost the trail, could get to Hopi country.

The Escalante-Dominguez exploration was a significant event in Nuwuvi history for several reasons. Although the Spanish fathers turned back to Santa Fe and thus failed to blaze a trail all the way to Monterey, part of their route later was to become the eastern portion of the Old Spanish Trail. This route would bring more invaders to Nuwuvi land. It was to pass through some of the best Nuwuvi lands, such as the banks of the Virgin River and the Santa Clara, upon which the Nuwuvi farmed. When the Escalante-Dominguez party crossed their country, the Nuwuvi economy and culture were still intact. Escalante's viewpoint, like that of all whites, was colored by his own cultural background. Escalante was a Spanish priest, and he consequently saw the Nuwuvi as in need of conversion rather than completely respecting their own concepts of life. However, Escalante did make a sincere attempt to record what he saw accurately. His journal is unbiased enough to permit a dim picture of how the Nuwuvi lived.

In the spring and early summer of 1776, a few months before the Escalante-Dominguez exploration, another Spanish priest, Francisco Garcés, had made contact with other Nuwuvi people. Like Escalante, Garcés was commissioned to find a route connecting the Spanish settlements in New Mexico with those on the Pacific Coast, but the route he sought was lower, across present-day Arizona. Traveling up the Colorado River from the Gila River, Garcés left the river to avoid an area where the Mohave were fighting other Indians. In the desert west of the river he met some forty "Chemebets" (the Chemehuevi, the most southwesterly group of Nuwuvi). The Chemehuevi offered Garcés some "very good mezcal" (a beverage made from the agave or century plant), and he recorded as much information as he could about them. He observed that they wore Apache-style moccasins, shirts made from antelope hide, and feathered headdresses. Garcés was particularly impressed by the ability of these Indians to move in the desert. He commented that they were "the most swift-footed of any I have seen." The Chemehuevi informed

him that they were friends of the Utes, the Mohave, and the "Apaches Tejua," but were enemies of the Comanches and the Hopi.³⁰

Garcés recognized that the Chemehuevi were Nuwuvi, grouping them with the Shivwits.³¹ Garcés was impressed with the Chemehuevi people, saying, "They conducted themselves with me most beautifully; by no means were they thievish or troublesome, but rather quite considerate." He noted that they made baskets and "carried a crook [a specially-shaped stick used for unearthing bulbs, roots and rodents] besides their weapons."³²

Returning to the river, Garcés came to the Mohave villages, where he noted that they had "certain blankets that they possess and weave of furs of rabbits and otters brought from the west and northwest, with the people of which parts they keep firm friendship."³³ The blankets woven of rabbit skin were manufactured by the Nuwuvi and apparently they were carrying on a lively trade with the Mohave at this time.

Recruiting three Mohave guides, the Garcés expedition journeyed on to the San Gabriel Mission. On the return journey, Garcés passed again through Chemehuevi country, visiting three Chemehuevi camps, which he didn't describe. Thus, Garcés was the first non-Indian to cross the Mohave river segment of the Old Spanish Trail and was perhaps the first intruder on Chemehuevi land.

After Escalante's expedition, Spanish fur trappers and traders began to extend their operations westward from Colorado, intruding into the Uintah Basin, the Great Salt Lake region, and the Utah Lake area. Spanish trade with the Utah Utes was to have a great impact on the Nuwuvi, giving rise to a slave trade involving Nuwuvi men, women and children. Unfortunately, documents for this period are very sparse. Unlike official expeditions, the fur trappers left no records of their private ventures. Due to the Spanish government's restrictions, much of the trading with the Indians was illegal, adding a further cloak of secrecy to the operations.³⁴ Even in the recorded instances of slave trading, tribal membership often is not specified, further complicating attempts to determine the origins and proportions of slavery among the Nuwuvi. Although records are lacking, it is likely that "almost continuously from Escalante's expedition on until after the Mormons came, wandering Spaniards entered these

valleys [of Salt Lake, Utah and Sevier], not only for furs, but to traffic in Indian slaves."³⁵

The 1813 Arze-García trading expedition is the first recorded instance of slave trading, although the practice undoubtedly predated it. Spanish officials restricted trade with the Indians on what was then the frontier of Spanish-claimed land, but slavery itself was not specifically prohibited until 1812. The law was largely ignored, and "for the next fifty years pelts and Indian slaves were to continue as the chief objects of barter with the Utes, in the same pattern as had existed during the preceding half century."³⁶ The practice was not even affected by changes of political jurisdiction. It went on in turn under the regimes of Spain, of Mexico and of the United States.

Arze and García were arrested upon returning from their expedition. The testimonies given by them at their trial in New Mexico are of doubtful credibility. They pleaded that the Utes had so much as forced them into trading for human slaves. The two traders testified that upon arriving at Utah Lake to trade, the Utes "would trade nothing but Indian slaves 'as they had done on other occasions'."³⁷ The Spaniards claimed they had refused to trade for people. The Utes, testified Arze and García, then began killing their horses. The Spaniards left hurriedly, traveling southward to the Sevier River where they met a Sanpete Ute who led them further south to "where they could trade with a tribe of Yutes as yet unknown to them."³⁸

These Indians, probably the Pahvants, were hostile toward the Spaniards. Once again the Spaniards stole away, traveling on to the Colorado River and the "rancheria" of Wasatch who was waiting to trade with them "as was his custom." Meeting circumstances similar to those at Utah Lake, the Spanish traded for slaves "in order not to receive another injury like the first one."³⁹ The Spaniards returned to New Mexico with twelve Indian slaves. Although these may or may not have been Nuwuvi, the pattern is typical. As the Spaniards testified, this was an established form of commerce.

After the 1776 Escalante-Dominguez exploration, the Spanish sent no other official expeditions into the area. Though the establishment of missions was recommended and Escalante promised the Utah Lake Utes and the Nuwuvi in the Paria River Valley that missionaries would come among them, these plans never materialized.

In 1826 and 1827 Jedediah Smith, an American fur trapper, made two crossings to California through Nuwuvi lands. Smith linked portions of the routes traveled by Escalante and Garcés, thus establishing a connection between Santa Fe and the Pacific Coast which ran directly through Nuwuvi territory. Traveling south from Utah Lake with his party of fifteen men, Smith made no mention of Nuwuvi until reaching the junction of the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers in August of 1826. He named the river now called the Santa Clara, "Corn Creek," for on its banks he found that corn and pumpkins were being raised. Though Smith's account is sketchy, he did record that he obtained corn and pumpkins from the Nuwuvi. He also acquired one of their "interesting pipes [made] from green marble"⁴⁰ for a friend's museum of Indian artifacts. The Nuwuvi, Smith recorded, were getting rock salt from a cave farther down the Virgin River. Traveling on down the river, when only two days from its mouth, Smith found the salt cave. The Indians had mined for centuries in this cave, which is now covered by Lake Mead. Nuwuvi alive today still remember going to these caves and bringing back sacks of salt rock.



This salt mine on the Virgin River was used by Nuwuvi for hundreds of years prior to being flooded by the rising waters of Lake Mead. It is probably the same mine Jedediah Smith visited in 1826. (courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

When Smith reached the Colorado River, "an old Pautch [Paiute] farmer could be seen on the east side of the river, and perhaps the hope of profiting from the corn patch justified the considerable trouble involved in the crossing." "Smith went on to the Mohave villages, from where Mohave guides led him on to San Bernardino.

In the summer of 1827 Smith returned to Nuwuvi territory, traveling substantially by the same route, but leaving the Virgin River to avoid its narrows and going over the Beaver Dam Mountains. Again Smith's account is extremely brief, but of the Virgin and Santa Clara River areas he did say, "not an Indian was to be seen, nor appearance of any having been in the locality during the summer; their flimsy little lodges were burned down." "From the time Smith came to the Virgin until he reached the Colorado, only one Nuwuvi, who kept close to the hills, was seen. At the mouth of the Virgin, Smith observed that the old Nuwuvi farmer on the east side of the Colorado was still there.

After a battle with the Mohave near their villages, Smith salvaged what he could and went west to the Mohave River. About eight miles up the river, he came upon two Nuwuvi lodges. From them he purchased two horses, some sorghum candy, and a few water jars.⁴³ This is the first mention of the Nuwuvi possessing horses.

There is much that is puzzling in Smith's account. The Nuwuvi along the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers were friendly to Smith on his 1826 incursion, but in 1827, though not hostile, the Nuwuvi seemed to be carefully avoiding the whites. That the Nuwuvi "lodges" had been burned down is even more mystifying. Perhaps the Nuwuvi had heard about other hostilities between Anglo-Americans and Indian people near and within their country.

In March of 1826 another group of Anglo fur trappers, including James Ohio Pattie, had ascended the Colorado River after trapping along the Gila. Arriving at the Mohave villages, a Mohave headman, pointing to the beaver furs and indicating that these were stolen property, demanded that the trappers make payment. Pattie refused, and when the Mohave returned the next day to repeat his request, Pattie shot and killed him. The next day, in a series of short battles, over sixteen Mohave were killed. After the last skirmish, Pattie wrote: "We suspended those that we had killed upon the trees, and left their bodies to dangle in terror to the rest. . . ." "The news of this hostility

probably spread to neighboring Indian groups, including Nuwuvi and Walapai. This may well have caused later anger between Indians and whites in that region.⁴⁵

Though Pattie's narrative is confusing or confused, he traveled further up the Colorado and perhaps encountered the Chemehuevi and the Shiwits. Pattie and his men even may have battled with the Shiwits Nuwuvi, whose land ranged from the southeast side of the Virgin down to the Colorado River. According to Pattie's journal, he came to a village of "Shuena" Indians. These were probably Shiwits Nuwuvi. A battle resulted in which the guns of the trappers proved more effective than the Indians' attempts to defend themselves with bows. The Indians retreated, and Pattie's men marched through their camp which was now only inhabited by those they had killed.⁴⁶ If these people were the Shiwits, this incident is the first record of Nuwuvi-European hostilities.

Although Spanish and American fur trading operations during this period were mainly centered in Ute territory, some trappers did go into Nuwuvi territory in 1829. Only a few of these men left even fragmentary accounts of their activities. None of them mentioned the Indians living in the area.⁴⁷ Apparently they had little trouble with the Nuwuvi who were willing to be peaceful towards the strangers who were invading their lands as long as they were left alone. It is clear that the friendly Nuwuvi avoided hostility whenever possible. Consequently, the men were allowed to trap freely, even though the Nuwuvi too used beaver pelts. Like rabbit skins, beaver pelts were occasionally made into blankets that also served as capes.

By 1830 the Nuwuvi had still not encountered enough of the new intruders to create a definite impression of what they were like. They had had a few negative experiences, but overall their encounters with the strangers had been friendly enough not to arouse alarm. Moreover, these encounters had been few and far between, only a handful in fifty years. In 1830, however, the Spanish Trail was definitely opened for the first time. From that date travel across Nuwuvi lands became a regular practice, bringing with it significant changes in the lives of the Nuwuvi.

"The Abandoned Boys"*

Shinau-av and his band were camped at the Wakarirumpa (spring in the yellow hills southwest of Pipe Springs, Arizona). They held a council and decided to move to the Kaivwavi (Kaibab Plateau). So Shinau-av sent a man in search of a food camp and told him to make a signal smoke when such a place was found.

Seeing a smoke a great way off the people prepared to start. When they were ready, Shinau-av noticed that two small helpless children belonging to the man who had gone ahead were still lying on the ground. In a loud voice he said that someone should take these children along, but he told no one in particular. As all the party had great loads to take, no one took up the children, and Shinau-av leading the people did not notice that they were left behind.

When the children awoke and found that their people had gone, they cried and slowly followed, crawling on the ground for they could not walk. In this way they traveled many days until at last they came to a place where a battle had been fought. There they saw lying on the ground the dead bodies of the men who left them behind. The women had been carried away. The boys knew that this was a punishment for the cruelty of the people in leaving them behind.

Now there were many berries growing in this country, and the boys lived on them until the pine nuts were ripe. By the time these were ready to eat, the boys had grown so that they could walk about. They gathered many and continued to grow. They also saved many for winter. So they lived several years taking care of themselves. They grew to be fine large boys and forgot their wrongs and thought only of their friends who had been captured. They decided to rescue their friends from their enemies, the Kukwats (Mexicans). So they made a journey to their enemies' land and came upon them in a region covered with timber.

* Op. Cit., Powell, "Ute and Paiute Legends."

The younger brother was greatly terrified, so the elder dug a pit and placed him in it so that he could not be found. He then went on his way to scout.

Coming to the camp of the Kukwats, he saw his sister. Crawling near to where she was standing so that he was hid in her shadow, he told her who he was and where the younger brother was hidden.

The next day the boys killed the Kukwats, rescued their friends, and took their sister back with them in great triumph. When they came to the old battlefield and saw the bones of their friends bleaching in the sun, they were very sad.

They danced and sang all the night, and when the dawn came into the sky, the younger brother held out a magical stick and called all the men back to life. Then there was much rejoicing.

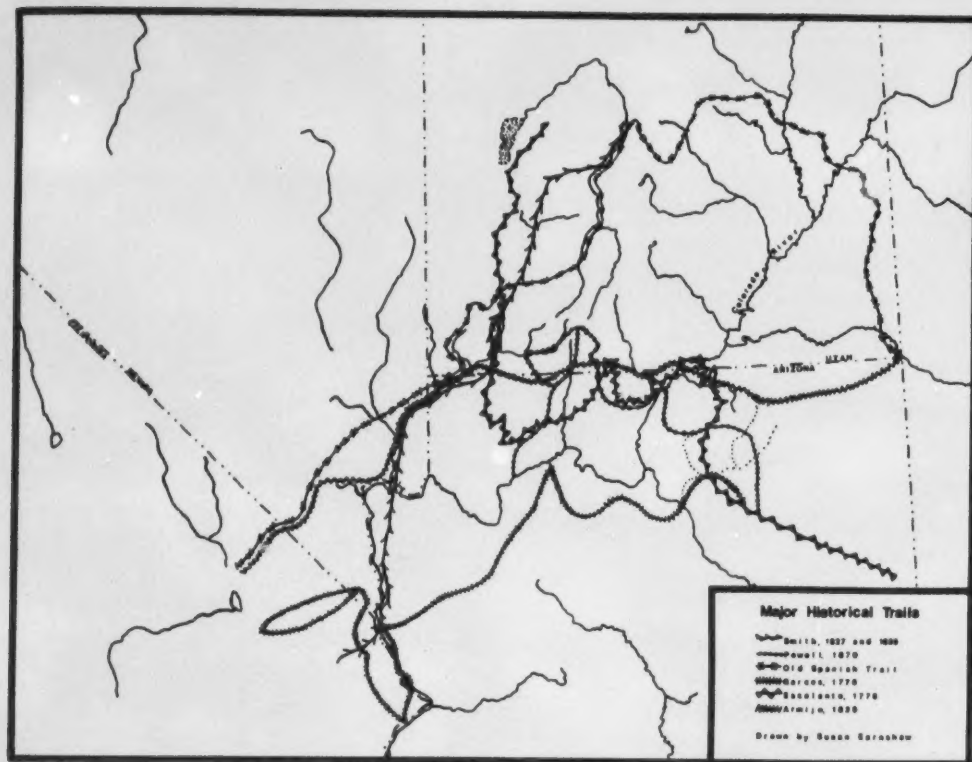
The Old Spanish Trail and the Slave Trade

The Old Spanish Trail became the major trade route between the Spanish settlements of New Mexico and California. One of the most important parts of the trade was slavery. The New Mexicans made annual trips. They started out with a few goods and traded on their way with Navajos or Utes for horses. They then traded the horses to other Indians for children who had been stolen from poorer tribes like the Nuwuvi. The New Mexicans often raided Nuwuvi camps when they couldn't obtain children peacefully.

The children then were traded in California for horses, goods, or cash. The traders then returned to New Mexico picking up more children on the way. The boys were sold on the average in New Mexico for \$100. The girls were sold for \$150 to \$200 by the 1850's.¹ Slavery once had been an occasional, unpredictable practice, but the Spanish Trail made it an annual threat to the Nuwuvi. It was a profitable and successful business. "The Mexicans were as fully established and systematic in this trade as ever were the slavers on the sea and to them this was a very lucrative business."²

The driving of large herds of horses and mules along the Spanish Trail also disrupted the Nuwuvi economy by depleting grasses and other plant life along the route. The caravans, though varying in size, often were as large as 200 men on horseback, accompanied by mules laden with goods and returning with as many as 2,000-4,000 horses and mules.³ The result of all this activity for the Nuwuvi was cultural disruption.

An important event in the establishment of the Old Spanish Trail was the trading expedition of Antonio Armijo. In the fall of 1829, Armijo led the first pack train from New Mexico to California. Though traveling on a route lower than that which was to become the Old Spanish Trail, Armijo's party of about sixty Mexicans began commercial traffic through Nuwuvi territory. The Mexicans transported hand-woven blankets and serapes, trading these for horses and mules in California which they brought back to New Mexico by the same route.



Armijo left a diary of his journey, but it is very brief and descriptions of the Nuwuvi are few. He traveled a route which closely parallels the present border of Utah and Arizona, meeting Nuwuvi near Paiute Canyon before crossing the Colorado. Only three Nuwuvi were met here, and the meeting was peaceful.⁴ The Navajo later moved into Nuwuvi territory on the south side of the Colorado, but Armijo's diary indicates that this, as of 1829, had not occurred.⁵ After crossing the Colorado and approaching the Paria River, Armijo came upon another camp of Nuwuvi who he described as a gentle nation.⁶ The Nuwuvi allowed the caravan to pass peacefully through their country. Armijo makes no mention of conflict with Indian people the entire journey.

Traveling west, Armijo arrived at the Virgin River, a little west of present-day Hurricane, Utah, and then followed Jedediah Smith's 1827 trail down to the juncture of the Virgin with the Colorado.⁷ Although this route took him through areas populated by the Nuwuvi, Armijo's diary makes no further mention of Indian people until, at Las Vegas Wash, a reconnaissance party once again discovered a Nuwuvi village.⁸ Heading southwest, Armijo's party crossed the desert and arrived "at the River of the Payuches [probably the Amargosa], where a village was found: nothing happened for it was gentle."⁹ The party continued on to California.

In the fall of 1830, a party of twenty fur trappers led by George C. Yount and William Wolfskill made a journey through Nuwuvi territory. Traveling from Taos to San Gabriel, California, the trappers made the first journey over substantially the route which became the Old Spanish Trail. Two accounts of the journey were written, one by Yount and the other by Ziba Branch, a hired man on the trip. Both journals were written more than 20 years after the expedition and their limited descriptions of the Indian people, though containing some accurate observations, are marred by the authors' inability to understand a culture different from their own. Yount, for instance wrote that the Nuwuvi communicated chiefly by signs and that their language had but few words, a claim which is, of course, wholly mistaken. Unlike Escalante who was impressed by the industriousness, civility and pleasing appearance of the Nuwuvi, Yount was unable to understand their life-style.

After Yount and Wolfskill, pack trains over the Old Spanish Trail were a yearly occurrence until 1848. Unfortunately, no diaries of the annual merchant caravans have been found, making it difficult to assess the impact of this practice on the Nuwuvi. The trail went down the Santa Clara River and through present-day Moapa, both of which were Nuwuvi farming areas. The annual caravans camped at the Muddy River or at Las Vegas for several days and at the headwaters of the Santa Clara in Mountain Meadows for several weeks.¹⁰ It is difficult to imagine that these annual caravans would not have had a serious effect on the farming operations and gathering activities of the Nuwuvi.

The Nuwuvi moved their farms and modified their gathering patterns to accommodate the annual caravans. Later accounts indicate that the Nuwuvi exacted compensation for the loss of food supplies by waylaying stray cattle. But concerted opposition never occurred because the Nuwuvi communities were relatively small, and it was wiser to avoid the caravans. The two decades during which the pack trains traversed the Spanish Trail severely disrupted farming, but there were still Nuwuvi farms on the Santa Clara and the Muddy Rivers in the 1850's. Apparently farming operations in some areas were suspended for a time and resumed after the annual caravans ceased.

The horse raids along the Old Spanish Trail during the early 1830's had an effect on the Nuwuvi similar to that of the annual caravans. New Mexican and American traders, Utes and other Indian people made horse raids on the herds of missions and ranches in California and drove them to New Mexico over the Old Spanish Trail.¹¹ Pegleg Smith and Wakara, a Ute who was also heavily involved in the slave trade, were major horse raiders, sometimes driving as many as a thousand head of horses over the Old Spanish Trail. Such raids lasted up until Wakara died in 1855.¹² Those involved in horse thievery also seized and traded for Nuwuvi slaves as they drove their stolen stock along the trail.

The Spanish Trail, running as it did from Nuwuvi spring to Nuwuvi spring in the Nevada desert, disrupted gathering patterns, necessitating new means of making a livelihood. Though the references are few and the tribal affiliation often uncertain, discontented Nuwuvi participated in the horse raids. At least Judge Benjamin

Hayes, writing to the *Los Angeles Star* on June 4, 1851, from a California ranch thought so: "The moon has come again - and with her, it is said, the dread Pay-u-tahs. But this time they will find few horses . . . as the rancheros of the frontier generally, have sent away their stock. . . ." ¹³

The extent of Nuwuvi involvement in horse raiding is difficult to determine. Tribal and even racial identity was seldom certain; the Californians made few distinctions and called all horse raiders "Chaguanosos" who were "adventurers of all nations." ¹⁴ Some Nuwuvi conducted horse raiding independently, ¹⁵ trading the horses to the caravans and other "Chaguanosos."

In 1841, a party of about 134 persons composed of emigrants and New Mexican traders and headed by William Workman and John Rowland, traversed the Old Spanish Trail. *En route* a revealing incident occurred which suggests that the seizure of people for slaves was a common feature of the trading along the trail. One of the party, a Dr. Lyman, wrote that four New Mexicans in the group seized an Indian man, woman, and child. Although part of the party sought their release, the majority favored holding on to them. Consequently, the party split up. ¹⁶

Dr. Lyman and two of his friends left the party and in traveling to California suffered much on the desert. On arriving in California, Lyman was pleased to hear that others in the party released the captive Nuwuvi secretly at night. ¹⁷ Unfortunately, most Nuwuvi captives were not so lucky, as the following comments of Dr. Lyman suggest:

these Indians are so ardently attached to their country, that when carried into the lands of their captors and surrounded with abundance, they pine away and often die in grief for the loss of their native deserts. In one instance, I saw one of these Paiuches die from no other apparent cause than this home-sickness. From the time it was brought into the settlements of California it was sad, moaned, and continually refused to eat till it died. ¹⁸

Lyman noted that the Nuwuvi were pressed from all sides. Not only were the New Mexicans trying to capture them, but so were neighboring Indian tribes and occasional American fur trappers. He also mentioned the prices for slaves at the New Mexican markets varied widely according to age and other qualities, but a child of

from ten to fifteen years sold for \$50 to \$100.¹⁹ If these figures are accurate, then Indian slaves increased in value after 1841 for ten years later in 1851 they reportedly sold for \$100 to \$200.

Though the Nuwuvi weapons of defense were limited to bows and arrows designed for hunting, for they were a peaceable people, they did make attempts to defend themselves and to discourage travel through their country. The Nuwuvi would gather around the camps of travelers at night and let fly a volley of arrows at the travelers' horses and mules, mortally wounding and disabling some which would be left behind when the caravan moved on.²⁰ These Nuwuvi attacks were also a response to shortages in food supplies caused by the caravans and other assorted marauders in Nuwuvi lands. That the Utes and Navajos had prior and more extensive contact with the Spanish and Mexicans also put the Nuwuvi at an extreme disadvantage. The Utes, whose culture before Spanish contact was much like that of the Nuwuvi, learned to ride horses and use guns from closer contact with the New Mexican settlements. Although some Nuwuvi eventually adopted these tools, their environment and relative isolation insured that most of them still used bows and traveled by foot. Because of the nature of their lands, traveling and living in small groups was necessary. Banding together for mutual protection would have been difficult and would have disrupted their lifestyle.

In 1844 a military party led by Captain John C. Fremont passed over the Old Spanish Trail. Fremont's journal is an important document in Nuwuvi history because it provides clues as to what was occurring during the important period of 1830 - 1850. Fremont's writings also are probably the best documentation of the Nuwuvi reaction to the establishment of a roadway through their country. Fremont and his party of 39 men reached the California end of the Spanish Trail on April 20, 1844. He remarked that, luckily for his party, the annual Santa Fe Caravan had not yet made its passage, for "a drove of several thousand horses and mules would have entirely swept away the scanty grass at the watering places, and we should have been obliged to leave the road to obtain subsistence for our animals."²¹ Such damage to the plant life along the trail must have caused great privation and anger among the Nuwuvi. Nuwuvi opposition to the traveling in their country was made apparent to Fremont all along the route.

On the Mohave River, Fremont met a party of six Mohave Indians. He questioned them, and, among other things, learned that conflict had developed between the Mohave and the Nuwuvi. The Mohave were trading with Indians in California, bringing them blankets and goods manufactured by the Hopi, but they "rarely carried home horses, on account of the difficulty of getting them across the desert and of guarding them afterwards from the Paiute Indians, who inhabit the sierra, at the head of the Rio Virgin."²² If the Mohave informed Fremont correctly, there was apparently some intertribal horse thievery occurring during this time, perhaps caused by economic pressures and defense needs.

While camped further down along the Mohave River, Fremont and his men were surprised by the appearance of two Mexicans, a man and a boy, who told Fremont that their party of six persons had been attacked by Indians at the Archilette (Resting Springs, on the Spanish Trail a short distance west of the present Nevada border, and just inside Nuwuvi territory). When attacked, the party, with a cavalcade of thirty horses, was waiting at this spring for the annual caravan in order to travel with it. The two Mexicans claimed that several Indians had visited their camp and behaved in a very friendly manner, but a few days afterward a party of one hundred Indians attacked their camp.²³

The two Mexicans joined Fremont's party, which left the Mohave and traveled on to the Agua de Tomaso (Bitter Springs). According to the Mexicans, this was where they had left the horses which they had driven off during the attack. The horses were gone, and Kit Carson and two others set out to find them. They rode over 100 miles in the pursuit and return. They attacked an Indian camp which was probably Nuwuvi. They found the camp in a mountain recess, where great preparations had been made to feast a large party. Apparently not many people were at the camp but more were expected. Carson and the others opened fire on the camp, hitting two men and taking one boy captive; the other people fled to safety. They then scalped the two who were shot. One was found to be still alive but was instantly killed.²⁴ Carson examined the camp, finding that "large earthen vessels were on the fire, boiling and stewing the horse beef; and several baskets, containing fifty or sixty pairs of moc-

casins."²⁵ The horses were being used for food, suggesting that hunger had been the motivation for taking them.

Fremont praised this exploit, saying: "this expedition . . . may be considered among the boldest and most disinterested which the annals of Western adventure, so full of daring deeds, can present."²⁶ Fremont and the party of Mexicans certainly had no respect for the territorial boundaries of the Nuwuvi, and it is amazing that he could consider an action so summary, arbitrary and brutal an act of justice. Fremont had some doubts about this vengeance, particularly for the "scalped alive Indian," and the details of the story suggest that he was glorifying an incident of which he was actually somewhat ashamed. The Mexicans' story and Carson and Godey's revenge have curious details which make them suspect. For instance, Fremont and the others believed that the Indians had taken two women captives in the attack, but no attempt was made to find them.

Traveling from spring to spring, Fremont reached Las Vegas. No Nuwuvi were there, but as he approached the springs, he noticed that there were many tracks of Indians, indicating that they were avoiding meeting him.²⁷ Fremont next met the Nuwuvi on the Muddy River. The party set up camp, and, wrote Fremont, "Indians crouched numerously around us in the morning; and we were obliged to keep arms in hand all day, to keep them out of camp."²⁸ These people were the Moapits, Nuwuvi who lived in the valley of the Muddy River. They apparently did not approve of Fremont's presence on their land, for the second day Fremont wrote that they continually "insulted" his camp. There were many of them taunting Fremont from the hills and surrounding him on the lowlands.²⁹

Besides displaying verbal hostility, the Moapits also were armed. About their weapons Fremont wrote: "with his bow each man carried a quiver with thirty or forty arrows, partially drawn out. Besides these, each held in his hand two or three arrows for instant service. Their arrows are barbed with a very clear translucent stone, a species of opal nearly as hard as the diamond, and shot from their long bows, are almost effective as gunshot."³⁰ Though anticipating trouble with Fremont, the Moapits apparently did not use their weapons.

During the day a man, whom Fremont thought was a chief, and two or three others forced themselves into the intruders' camp.

They brought arms, in spite of Fremont's orders to the contrary. This spokesman counted the people in the camp and said, "Why there are none of you . . . and we - we are a great many," pointing to the hills and mountains; and, "If you have your arms, we have these," said the man, twanging his bow.³¹ At this, Fremont had difficulty restraining some of his men, especially Kit Carson, who apparently was insulted by the Moapit spokesman's pride and daring. Fremont, worried about the power of the Moapits, kept Carson from dealing with the supposed insult.

Leaving the Muddy River, Fremont and his men traveled on to the Virgin River. As they went up the river, they were followed by Nuwuvi, who gave the party considerable trouble by picking up any animals which strayed behind the main group.³² Fremont was not needlessly cautious, for near present-day Littlefield, Arizona, one of his men, Tabeau, was killed by the Nuwuvi. Tabeau had left the main body of the party to look for a stray mule and was later found by a search party.³³

The Fremont party followed the Spanish Trail on over the Beaver Dam Mountains and into the valley of the Santa Clara River. The party finally reached Mountain Meadows, Utah, where the annual caravans halted and recruited for some weeks. Here Fremont also camped and summed up his difficulties with the Nuwuvi. He pointed out that by preceding "the great caravan" his stock had more grass to feed on, but this advantage was balanced by the disadvantage of having to face the Nuwuvi. They apparently had gathered to wait for the annual caravan which suggests that they made regular shows of defense against these yearly invaders. Fremont commonly had to keep one-third of his party on guard at once because of being followed by large numbers of Nuwuvi.³⁴

It is possible that Fremont, though he does not mention it, caused some trouble along the Santa Clara. Solomon Nunes Carvalho, an artist who was commissioned to accompany Fremont's 1853-1854 exploration, but who later separated from him, came down the Santa Clara in May of 1854. In his journal, he recorded meeting a Nuwuvi who had been shot by Fremont ten years earlier and who consequently walked lame.³⁵

After Fremont left the Mountain Meadows, he was joined by Joseph Walker. Walker was a famous fur trapper who by 1844 had

managed to kill close to one hundred Northern Paiutes in three crossings of Northern Nevada. The Nuwuvi could not have known this, but he soon showed his nature to them firsthand. Walker had gone ahead of the annual caravan in order to catch Fremont. He and eight others succeeded, but not without killing two Nuwuvi on the way.³⁶ Whether it was Walker or the Nuwuvi who initiated hostilities is not clear. Perhaps Fremont's party created a wake of hostility or perhaps the Nuwuvi were resisting all of the intrusions into their country.

Fremont left Nuwuvi territory without mentioning further contact with its people. Guided by Walker, he went on to Ute country. He met Wakara and his band of Utes who were on their way to the Spanish Trail to take tribute from the California caravan.³⁷ Such meetings between the caravan and Wakara's band were a regular, yearly occurrence and included slave trading as well as horse trading.

Fremont's report suggests that the Nuwuvi, though cautious in their defense, were actively hostile to the traffic along the Spanish Trail. Their reaction to travelers was determined in part by the conduct of the persons in passage. Then too, Fremont's party was not, as the Nuwuvi on the Muddy River pointed out, very large, only about forty men. The caravans often were much larger, and the Nuwuvi prudently avoided direct confrontation with them, limiting their activities to shooting stray horses.

In the late 1840's, Kit Carson was a dispatch bearer over the Old Spanish Trail. In 1847 he had trouble with the Nuwuvi at the Muddy River. He encountered about 300 Indians who wished to enter his camp. He insisted that they leave and fired at them when they wouldn't. One Nuwuvi was killed, and the others withdrew.³⁸ As was evidenced on Fremont's 1844 expedition, Carson had a fiery temper and was given to hastily avenging real or imagined insults. That Carson had no other problems along the trail suggests the Moapits were more openly hostile toward Anglo-Americans than other Nuwuvi communities. This tendency was repeated throughout the Spanish Trail era.³⁹

Traveling east across the Spanish Trail in 1848, Carson was accompanied by Lieutenant George D. Brewerton. Brewerton wrote that they began to see Nuwuvi shortly after leaving the Amargosa River.⁴⁰ Carson noticed Nuwuvi observing them from the bluffs

above their camp. After displays of friendship were made, one old Nuwuvi man came down, and was joined by about 12 others. The Nuwuvi indicated their hunger and were fed dried beef by Carson's men. Brewerton's account shows that the Nuwuvi were unable to procure sufficient food. Brewerton noticed that they carried digging sticks, bows and poisonous arrows.

As Carson's party left their encampment, they saw smoke rising from the hills. These smokes were repeated at various points along the route, showing that the Nuwuvi were telling of the intruders in their country. "During the following day, parties of these Indians showed themselves occasionally upon the crests of inaccessible hills, but seemed unwilling to come within gun-shot. . . ." ⁴¹ But after two days travel from the camp, a group of Nuwuvi came to visit, "and when they did so, the actions of the party were so suspicious that Kit concluded to retain one of their number (a young warrior about eighteen years of age) as a sort of hostage for their good behavior during the night." ⁴² Brewerton was amazed at the conduct of the young Nuwuvi who showed no signs of fear and made himself at home. He talked freely with Carson in his own language. When he went to prepare his bed, "he asked for his bow and arrows . . . these he placed carefully beneath the blanket by his side, explaining to me, by signs, that the damp might impair their efficacy by relaxing the bowstring, which was composed of twisted sinews." ⁴³ The young boy apparently was more courageous than his captors, who nervously stood watch over him all night.

The party saw no more Nuwuvi until they reached the Virgin River. At this point they again saw a display of Nuwuvi bravery. Camping at the point where Fremont lost Tabeau in 1844, one of the party reported finding Indian tracks near their horses. ⁴⁴ With the intention to shoot to kill, Carson, Brewerton and two others followed the tracks. After sighting a lone Nuwuvi, Brewerton recorded that "The fellow bounded like a deer, swinging himself from side to side, so as to furnish a very uncertain mark for our rifles." The whites reacted to this as if they were at a shooting match. Three of them took shots at the Nuwuvi but missed. Finally a fourth shot and hit the man in his shoulder. Despite this wound, he managed to elude his attackers and escaped by using his greater

endurance and knowledge of the country.⁴⁵ After this saddening display of inhumanity, the party saw no more Nuwuvi.

After 1848, large Mexican trader caravans on the Old Spanish Trail dwindled to an end. This traffic was replaced by some emigrant and gold rush travel through Nuwuvi country. Orville C. Pratt made a journey over the Old Spanish Trail. His journey was made during a transitional period in Nuwuvi history, after the cessation of the annual caravans and prior to the Mormon occupation. Thus his journal provides a basis for making inferences about both the effects of the caravan traffic and the Mormon takeover of Nuwuvi territory.

On orders of the War Department, Pratt left Santa Fe in August of 1848 with a company of sixteen men. In September, he arrived at the Sevier River. Traveling ten miles from there, he wrote that he was entering the region occupied by the Nuwuvi who, he had heard, commonly stole or shot at animals belonging to passing whites.⁴⁶

On September 30, Pratt first met the native people. The party camped at a spring in Bear Valley just west of the Sevier River. There they "saw and caught two Pah-Eutahs." Pratt soon discovered that these Nuwuvi were more worried about Spaniards than Americans because of "the frequency with which they catch and carry off these poor Pah-Eutahs, and use them as slaves."⁴⁷ Traveling along the trail, Pratt reached the Parowan Valley where his party camped with eight Nuwuvi along a creek for the night.⁴⁸

Further down the trail in Cedar Valley the party camped on what was probably Coal Creek. Pratt wrote that "This valley is full of Pah-Utahs - and from what I have seen it seems the most desirable part of Mexico or California for agricultural purposes."⁴⁹ Both Cedar and Parowan Valleys would, as he foresaw, soon be occupied by whites.

The Pratt party next camped at the Vegas of Santa Clara (Mountain Meadows where the Spanish caravans recuperated) for a few days. After recuperating, they "left the Vegas of Santa Clara at daylight and made a march of 30 miles to the Paiute Cornfields [above the site of Gunlock] on the Santa Clara River. Camped at an early hour and found very fair grazing."⁵⁰ He commented that the Nuwuvi there were said to be the worst on the route. He bought some corn from them and gave them some presents. The next day, Oct. 7, Pratt frequently saw cornfields along the river as his party

moved south.⁵¹ Pratt's remarks about the Nuwuvi cornfields are very important for they indicate that the Nuwuvi had resumed their cultivating despite Spanish Trail disruption. Later travelers along the Santa Clara mistakenly thought the Nuwuvi had been made farmers by the Mormons.

Pratt's diary next mentions Nuwuvi when his party arrived at the Muddy River where he met a large group of them. Pratt's party bought corn and beans from the Indians who appeared much more friendly than they had to earlier parties. Pratt commented on the worth of this valley. He noted the land was fertile with plenty of good water.⁵² Considering their farms, it is easy to see why the Nuwuvi tried so hard to protect this valley. Though farming operations were disrupted in the succeeding years, at present the Nuwuvi are farming along the Muddy within the confines of the Moapa Reservation.

Pratt travelled on to Las Vegas where he wrote the following: "There is the finest stream of water here, for its size, I ever saw. . . . It comes too, like an oasis in the desert just as the termination of a 50 mile stretch without a drop of water or a spear of grass." He noticed many Nuwuvi here, but they avoided his party. Las Vegas Springs was a Nuwuvi "oasis in the desert," used as a temporary camp in crossing the desert. Pratt again foresaw an influx of people.⁵³ Today the Nuwuvi live on ten acres of land adjacent to the city of Las Vegas.

From Pratt's diary, we learn that Nuwuvi farming, even in the areas through which the Spanish Trail ran, had persisted though perhaps it was disrupted some years, or its proportions reduced to accommodate the caravans. This was not a small accomplishment. The Spanish Trail had had a severe effect on the lives of the Nuwuvi. The slave trade which developed could not be forgotten easily.

In 1853, when Mexican involvement in the slave trade was being ended by the Mormons, Lieutenant E. F. Beale traveled over the trail to become Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California. Gwinn Harris Heap, Beale's journalist, attested to the frequency of slave raiding along the trail. Meeting Nuwuvi on the Santa Clara he soon found that the women had hidden their children when they saw his party approaching fearing they would steal them. Heap stated that annual slave expeditions came out of New Mexico and often resorted to "foul means" to acquire children. The raids were

so common and accepted that it was "considered as no more objectionable than to go on a buffalo or mustang hunt." A New Mexican in Beale's party had in fact participated in the man-hunting and urged the party to "charge on it [the Nuwuvi camp] like h—l, kill the *mans*, and maybe catch some of the little boys and gals."⁵⁴

Just how many Nuwuvi were made slaves is unknown, but Indian Agent Garland Hurt in 1850 suggested that the Nuwuvi population was being rapidly reduced by slavery. He pointed out that the trade had become so profitable to the Utes and Navajos that it was indispensable. He felt that it was so extensive that "scarcely one-half" of the Nuwuvi children grew up in their bands. The depopulation was worsened by the fact that a large majority of those left were males.⁵⁵

William R. Palmer, a resident of Cedar City, who was much interested in the native people, recorded the Nuwuvi reaction to and feelings about the enslavement of their people during the Spanish and Mexican eras. He found that the women were particularly opposed to and heartbroken by the seizure or trade of their children into slavery:

I asked how the Indian women felt about the slave traffic and the old man said they were scared to death. When a Spanish party was in the country, the women tried to take their children and run away and hide. They were as much afraid of their husbands as of the Spaniards while the party was in their country. Only the old and crippled women stayed in camp, for the Spaniards would not trade for them.

In all this slave traffic, many of the Indians, especially the women, were not so heartless as would appear. Some of them followed the caravans for days seeking an opportunity to steal their children back. When one succeeded she was hunted ruthlessly and if caught was taken into slavery with her child. Still this danger did not deter them from making the attempt. There are stories among the Indians about these women hunts which seem to be authenticated.

Near Cedar City there is a narrow box canyon known as Squaw Cave. Its sheer walls are fifty to sixty feet high. Some Spaniards were chasing an escaped [woman] around through the hills. Seeing that she could not escape, the woman ran with her pursuers close behind, to the edge of the cliff and dived off head first, dashing herself to death on the rocky floor.

Down on the Virgin River, near the town of Virgin, there was a high rocky point that jutted out into the river which was called

Thompson's Point. One spring when the high waters were coming down, a Paiute woman who had stolen her children back from a party of Spanish slavers, was tracked and hunted for days through the hills. The Spaniards finally came upon her and trapped her on Thompson's Point. Rather than let her child go into slavery she threw it off into the swollen river to drown.

In my life time I have known and talked personally with three old Indian women who in their youth had been caught in this slave traffic. I saw their faces blanch after sixty years as they recalled the terrors of their captivity. Old Mary Shem (an adopted white name) was stolen by other Indians and taken out on the Spanish Trail to be traded to the first Spaniards who came along. She was tied on a mule that was driven in the band for several days, going northward. The Indians stopped for a week or more near the place that is now Milford, Utah. Mary, then ten or twelve years old, was placed in charge of an [Indian woman] who was to guard her. The child was kept in a wickiup, tied up so she could not get away. One night the old [woman] untied her and told her to run away. She was to run hard as long as it was dark, then lay down and hide or get back in the hills and travel out of sight. The child did that, eating only the vegetation she snatched up as she ran. After about a week she stumbled exhausted into the camp of her own people. For many years afterward, she said, she was afraid of every strange person, Indian or Spaniard, and she ran out in the hills to hide when strangers came around.

Quinnie, another young Indian woman, was carried as far as the Uintah Basin before she managed to escape. She was bound to a horse in the band that was driven ahead. Her feet were tied under the animal's belly. One evening a young Ute Indian came with other Indians to the camp. He and the girl spoke the same language. He told her to watch for a chance to escape before they crossed the river and if she came to his camp he would marry her. Two nights later she succeeded. Running all night she covered quite a distance. When morning came she found a secluded place and hid. That day she could see men on horses riding around and she knew they were hunting for her. She watched them closely and when one came riding toward her she thought he had discovered her. She was just ready to jump and run when he turned off in another direction. She lay very quiet until night time, then ran off farther into the mountains. After three or four days she came on fresh Indian tracks and followed them into a camp. The young fellow who promised to marry her was there, and, fearing that the Spaniards might still be searching for her, the two went off together and lived around in the mountains until the late fall when no more caravans would be

traveling. Quinnie had two or three children out in the Uintah country, then her husband died and she came back to her old home and people where Cedar City, Utah, now stands. She married again and had more children here and her grandson, John Merricats, an old man, died in 1948 at Cedar City.⁵⁶

The Nuwuvi accounts of slavery are important, for few, if any, of the white documents are concerned with Nuwuvi feelings about losing their families and friends to slave traders. The oral tradition also preserved accounts of the Navajo seizing Nuwuvi. Mabel Dry, a Nuwuvi woman from Moccasin, Arizona, recalls that long ago on the Virgin River the Navajos attacked a group of Nuwuvi, killing some and taking at least one woman as a slave. In another incident, a Nuwuvi man and his two children, a boy and a girl, were living near Mt. Trumbull. Navajos came to his camp and killed him, and stole his children. They were taken by way of the old Ute crossing (the Crossing of the Fathers) into Navajo country. The boy grew sick and died, but the girl was put to work herding sheep. After being forced to marry a Navajo, she ran away, managing to recross the Colorado River. After finding some Nuwuvi, she was accompanied to Cedar Valley. The Navajo pursued her, but her people kept her hidden and claimed they had not seen her.⁵⁷

The decades between 1829 and 1849 were the first years during which Nuwuvi contacts with foreigners developed into a regular pattern. During this period these contacts became more and more hostile. The Spanish and Mexicans were involved in the slave trade, and the Nuwuvi avoided them whenever they entered their country. Beginning with James Pattie in 1826, relations between Americans and Nuwuvi became so unfriendly that open hostilities were a constant threat. The Americans tended to degrade the Indians in their descriptions of them and were eager to fight them at every opportunity. These descriptions influenced other travelers who came in contact with the Nuwuvi, and consequently a mistaken picture of the Nuwuvi and their culture was passed on.

The end of the annual caravans on the Old Spanish Trail decreased the number of Nuwuvi taken as slaves to Santa Fe and Southern California and caused a change in the pattern of Indian-Mexican trading relations. However, slave trading continued for a time between the Utes and New Mexicans even after the arrival of the Mormons.

"Hupats Visits the Jay Nation on the Kaibab"*

Hupats (Small Fox) was a great arrow maker and famous for his skill among all nations. Once he made a journey to the Kaivwavi (Kaibab) to trade his arrows for buckskins with the people of Ogochiok. When he arrived at the foot of the plateau, he discovered fresh deer tracks, so he hid near the trail which led to water. Soon he saw deer approaching, and taking his bow and arrow from the quiver, he shot through the heart of the fattest deer. Hupats was happy that he had been able to kill such fine game, for there were very few deer in his own country.

While he stood admiring the slain animal, he saw Ogochiok in the distance approaching, and he hid behind a log. Ogochiok had also seen Hupats and was surprised when he came near to find that he was not there. So he searched for him until he found him, and each expressed great pleasure at meeting the other. As they walked along the trail, Ogochiok saw the deer lying on the ground and told Hupats that he had just killed it. Hupats did not deny it, for fear he would be considered a trespasser. Instead, with great show of friendship, he offered his assistance in dressing the game. When they had skinned it and cut it into pieces, they carried it away with them.

As they came near to the home of Ogochiok, he said to his companion: "Hupats, you must not go boldly into our camp, for strangers are always killed. Let me manage this affair for you." And he hid Hupats in the small feathers on the top of his head, tying them nicely with a string. When Ogochiok arrived in the camp, he boasted of his skill in hunting, but Onga told him his story was not believed. "It is now only noon," said he, "and never before this did you return with game before night."

"Ah," said Ogochiok, "there is the game; see for yourself."

* Op. Cit., Powell, "Ute and Paiute Legends."

Then Onga said, "Let me look into your quiver," and selecting a very good arrow, he said, "This was not made by you, nor by any of our people. This is my grandfather's arrow, Hupats, the old man who lives on the Unku Mukwanikunt (Vermilion Cliffs). Where did you get it? And see, there is blood on the shaft; this is the arrow that killed the deer." Ogochiok stood in silence.

After a while Onga noticed the peculiar manner in which Ogochiok had fixed his hair and said, "What a strange top-knot you have! What new way have you learned for tying up your hair?" And all the people in the camp laughed at Ogochiok. Then a little boy crawled up behind him and cut the string which tied the top-knot, and Hupats fell upon the ground. All the people jeered at the boastful hunter and laughed at his foolishness. Onga ran up to Hupats and hugged him exclaiming, "You are my grandfather!" And they all greeted him with expressions of joy.

The next day Ogochiok and Onga went out to hunt. Onga sang as he went and would not be still, so Ogochiok warned him that he would frighten away the game. Still he would not cease his noisy songs, and when they found a deer lying down, Ogochiok feared it would hear the voice and run away. He said to Onga, "You go around the trees on the other side and creep up to the deer and shoot him. I will remain here. If you do not kill him, he will run this way and I will shoot at him." This he said to be rid of Onga. No sooner had the noisy fellow disappeared among the trees than Ogochiok crept along the ground near to the deer and shot it. He then hid it in the bushes.

Onga still singing his noisy songs, came up to where the deer should have been and, not finding it, shouted to his companion: "Where is that deer!"

Ogochiok replied, "You have frightened him away with your singing." Afterwards he took him to where the game was laying dead. When Onga saw it, he was greatly interested for he had never before seen a deer except after it had been cut up and brought to camp.

After examining the feet, he said, "My brother, what are these?"

Ogochiok answered, "These are the feet which would have carried him away if he had heard your singing."

Then Onga examined the horns and said, "What are these, my brother?"

Ogochiok answered, "These are the horns with which he would have gored you if you had made him mad with your singing."

Then he examined the eyelashes: "What are these, my brother?" At the same moment he lifted the eyelid, and the deer gazed upon him for an instant, then sprang up, and bounded away carrying Onga with him on his horns. Onga screamed with great fright but Ogochiok stood laughing.

A little way off the deer ran into a bush and Onga was thrown off onto the ground, lifeless. Then Ogochiok came up and cut him into pieces and went on his way.

Sometime afterwards when he was far away in the woods, he heard a noise behind him and stopped to listen. It was Onga coming up still singing his song, and this is what he now sung:

I am mended

I am mended

I am mended

So they went on the hunt together again. When they had killed another deer, Ogochiok told the singer to stand on top of the highest tree and watch, lest their enemies the Kukwats (the Spiders—also the name of the Mexicans because they weave. It literally means "Weavers.") should come while they were taking off the skin. As Ogochiok was busy at work, Onga saw the Kukwats coming a great way off. But being angry with the elder brother because of the bad treatment he had received during the morning, he determined to have revenge. So he gave no warning.

At last the enemy came near, and when he noticed that Ogochiok saw them, Onga shouted, "Here they come. Run, run my brother; run!" hoping to confuse his brother.

But Ogochiok was a brave fellow and said, "You carry away this meat; I will stay here and fight them."

Onga carried the meat home and returned, bringing with him Hupats and Kwiats (Bear). Now Hupats was a renowned warrior, and he had a great bow and very long arrows. He took great care not to shoot his arrows foolishly. When he could see a number of the enemy standing in the same line, he would shoot an arrow and would thus string a great number on one arrow shaft. The arrow would carry the bodies along with it until it struck a pine tree where

it would hold them, dangling in the air. Soon he had great numbers of the enemy hanging from the trees.

When the Kukwats first saw the little fellow with the great bow and long arrows they made much sport of him. However, his wonderful feats caused great fear, and it was his turn to laugh, which he did as the remaining Kukwats fled. Then Kwiats attacked those who were left and killed them all.

On that night there was a great feast held, and all the people danced until the dawn came into the sky.

The Coming of the Mormons

The year 1849 was important for the Nuwuvi. The vanguard of Mormon (members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) emigration had entered Salt Lake Valley to the north in 1847. The Mormons were to have a profound effect on the Nuwuvi because they were the first to settle on their land. The Nuwuvi had surely heard of these new residents of the Great Basin from their relatives and sometimes enemies, the Utes. Certainly Wakara, on one of his annual excursions through Nuwuvi country either to visit the Navajo or to raid Southern California must have mentioned the newcomers during his trading sessions with the Nuwuvi. He must have told them how these people were different, because they had come to stay. At first, Wakara was well pleased with this idea, for it gave him a source of trade far closer to home than the old Spanish settlements of Santa Fe and California. The Mormons also had sought to distinguish themselves from other Americans who had bad relations with the Indians by showing that they came to settle peacefully. What is more, the Mormons had a special interest in the Indians whom they called "Lamanites" and of whose ancient history they claimed to have a record.

Soon all the aboriginal peoples of the Great Basin, particularly the Utes, learned that where economic and cultural competition was concerned, religious sympathy was overlooked. In 1849, however, the Utes thought they had little to fear from the Mormons. They were encouraging their occupation of the neutral Salt Lake Valley. It was an area claimed exclusively by no tribe and served as an effective boundary with the Shoshone to the north.

The Nuwuvi's first word of the Mormons was cautiously optimistic, although they were more suspicious than the Utes. The Nuwuvi had never been powerful or mobile enough to develop an effective trading relationship with any of the surrounding white settlements. During the last years of the Spanish Trail trade, increasing hostility had developed between the white travelers and the Nuwuvi. The traffic passing through their country combined with

the slave trade had a very bad effect on their lives. The prospect of the Utes having a closer market only discouraged the Nuwuvi as they looked at their rapidly diminishing female and child population.

The California gold rush migration began in 1849. A few "forty-niners" chose to use the southern route over the Old Spanish Trail. Several of these were Mormons. The Nuwuvi had little chance to get to know them and little reason to believe they were different from other hostile whites who had visited their country. Nevertheless, this was the Nuwuvi's first encounter with the people who would become so important in their lives.

Fremont's account of his 1844 exploration was widely read and became a popular guide for the "forty-niners." His expedition had lost one member to the Nuwuvi. The emigrants in 1849 apparently drew the conclusion from him or from somewhere else that the Nuwuvi were warlike people. As Walter Van Dyke, who traveled with the Pomeroy wagon train that year, later put it, "These Indians are the Paiutes, described by Fremont in his report of exploration of 1843-44 as causing him considerable trouble on his return by the same route."¹ Another traveler commented, "We were now just in the edge of the Paiute country and they are said to be a warlike race."²

Whatever the reason, the forty-niners, man for man, seemed to think that the Nuwuvi country was some of the most dangerous territory they would have to cross. They believed this even though they themselves had little trouble with the Nuwuvi. Another traveler, James S. Brown, wrote: "So far as we were concerned, although it was known that the Indians were very hostile, they gave us no trouble."³ There were occasional lost horses and oxen which the Nuwuvi killed, but very few actions which would justify the descriptions "warlike," "savage," "marauding," and "very hostile." The only serious incident happened when one man left his party. He was robbed and released by the Nuwuvi.⁴ This was a serious enough act in the desert. Yet, although the opportunity obviously had been present, the Nuwuvi had neither injured nor murdered the man as the emigrants seemed to expect. The man found a party of white travelers with apparently little difficulty.

Nevertheless, the "forty-niners" not only assumed that the Nuwuvi were hostile, but continually gave them reason to be so. The wagon trains in many places had to move down narrow canyons and

valleys and across desert oases. The bottoms of these canyons and small green valleys were the prime fertile lands which the Nuwuvi used for their farms. Some of these wagon trains were quite large. Jefferson Hunt's train, for example, contained four hundred persons, one thousand head of cattle, and 107 wagons.⁵ It is doubtful that they passed without leaving in their wake extensive damage to the Indian farms. It seemed to the Nuwuvi that the large Spanish Trail trading caravans had merely been replaced by equally destructive emigrant trains.

Even the small packing companies, with the utmost disregard for the "uncivilized" Indians, chose to camp at every opportunity in the midst of the Nuwuvi vegetable fields in order to provide feed for their stock. On the 5th of November, Henry W. Bigler, in the company of the Flake-Rich party, reported that they "made about 15 miles and camped in an Indian cornfield." On the 7th he said, "We packed up and to the cornfield intending to lay by and let our animals rest and eat fodder."⁶ Neither did the emigrants hesitate to show their own warlike and hostile tendencies when it came to competition over a camping site. On one occasion a group of Indians camping near a dry creek were fired at and chased away by a group of whites who desired their campsite.⁷

By 1849 the Nuwuvi had learned the advisability of caution from the slave raids of the Spanish and the quick-to-shoot attitude of Americans like Kit Carson. They carefully avoided meeting the newcomers, which was for the best. As the campsite incident shows, those Nuwuvi who encountered the travelers usually didn't fare too well. On the Santa Clara, a Nuwuvi was shot for stealing oxen.⁸ Howard Egan's company, which was the last wagon train to cross the area in 1849, took to shooting at every Nuwuvi they saw.⁹ The result for all of these companies was that they had very little actual contact with the Nuwuvi, although they saw many recent signs of occupation. The Nuwuvi left quickly when the whites approached. One party "found an Indian lodge pot on boiling, all their effects in and about the lodge, the Indians having fled."¹⁰

These emigrants left frequent accounts of the numerous Indian farms that lined Santa Clara Valley, Beaver Dam Wash, Muddy River Valley and other places. Henry Bigler recorded on November 5th that "we saw some wheat straws lying about, beans, sunflowers,

and squash vines all in a very good state of cultivation, ditches for irrigation was [sic] made. . . ." ¹¹ In Beaver Dam Wash on the 7th, the Flake-Rich Company found "a corn field, good feed, some wheat sowed, looked well. corn, pumkins [sic], broom corn etc., had been raised here." ¹² One immigrant remembered seeing corn, morning glories, beans, squash, and other vegetables all being grown. The fields were well cultivated. "Large ditches had been made for irrigating purposes, which gave evidence of industry and perseverance." ¹³ This was an uncommon recognition of the effort which the Nuwuvi had made in raising crops at every opportune place in the largely unproductive southwestern desert. The Nuwuvi were indeed an industrious people. They knew what was necessary to live a life in harmony with the land.

The Indians soon had a better opportunity to acquaint themselves with the Mormons. It is surprising after their previous encounters with Americans how hospitable they were to the newest strangers. Late in 1849, an exploring expedition was sent under Parley P. Pratt south from Salt Lake City to examine natural resources and possibilities for settlement. On December 30th the party reached Ash Creek, and was soon approached by three Nuwuvi. These Nuwuvi had been convinced by the Utes' positive description of the Mormons. They saw the trading and protective advantages of having friendly settlements in their midst. They "said they were glad we had come into their country and wanted us to settle here and teach them to farm and make clothing. They had heard of us from the Utah Indians." ¹⁴ The Nuwuvi didn't abandon all caution though. While camping above the mouth of the Santa Clara, the Mormons were visited by more Nuwuvi who left at night. Moreover the explorers failed to see any Nuwuvi homes. Also missing were women and children, only men were seen. This was attributed to the slave trade. ¹⁵

Within a year, the settlers had organized an expedition to be sent under George A. Smith to settle in Little Salt Lake Valley on a site chosen by Pratt. On their journey south in December of 1850, they expressed an interest in what had become one of the more common forms of Great Basin commerce, the slave trade. On December 27th, Smith accused an old Indian of shooting and killing an ox. Smith had no proof, but accused the man angrily and finally

offered him a deal. The man, fearing for his life, agreed to trade a 12-year-old boy who was accompanying him for the ox.¹⁶ Five days later word was sent out by the Mormon company to the Indians that "should they wish to trade their children or other articles for clothing or provisions to come to our encampment."¹⁷

The new residents of Louisa, Utah (later Parowan), soon learned that some Nuwuvi were not so willing to welcome them into their homeland. On January 27th, six Mormons arrived from California and reported having trouble with the Indians on the Muddy who were still the band least willing to accept the white intrusions into their territory.¹⁸

The Mormon Church President, Brigham Young, made the conversion and civilization of the Indians a major goal for all new settlements. Despite this interest in helping the Indians, the new settlers wanted Nuwuvi lands and did what they could to take them. On August 23, 1851, Smith and James Lewis wrote U. S. President Millard Fillmore about the efforts the Mormons had made in settling Little Salt Lake Valley. They commented on the rich and fertile soil in the valley around Parowan. It was their belief that the land would become valuable but only "when the Government will remove the Indians from the Territory that our labor may be secured to us . . . with the extinguishment of the Indian Title if this could be done the happiness of thousands would be secured. . . ."¹⁹

Brigham Young in the meantime as Governor and ex-officio Utah Superintendent of Indian Affairs had begun to organize and divide up the responsibilities of the three Indian agents who had been assigned to him. On July 21, 1851, he issued a proclamation dividing the territory into three agencies consisting of Pauvan, Uinta, and "Parowan Agency, to include all the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin and South of the South line of the Pauvan Valley to the Western bounds of the Territory."²⁰ No one was assigned to Parowan. The agent, J. H. Holeman, wasn't available because he had gone east to treat with the Shoshone and because he disagreed with Young's policy of assigning agencies.²¹

Stephen B. Rose, the Uinta Agent, did make occasional journeys to the south. On December 30, 1851, he wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Luke Lea, that the Indians he had met were interested in "the Great Father" and hoped that he would do something to help

them settle their conflicts with other Indians.²² It was apparent that the Nuwuvi were beginning to accept the presence of whites in hopes that they would provide a protective buffer against the raiding Utes. The new settlers "had a visit from the Toquer Captain, (or Black Chief) so called by the South Pah Eed Indians, with about thirty of his warriors. They were from the Santa Clara and Rio Virgin country, and wished to hold a council . . . upon the subject of forming a settlement in their country."²³

Despite these expressions of welcome, conflicts soon developed between the Indians and the new settlers. In March of 1852, a few Nuwuvi from further south stole or killed two animals from Parowan. Two were taken prisoner and were shot and killed while trying to escape.²⁴ This incident undoubtedly convinced many Nuwuvi that even though the new settlements meant a chance to work and attain new goods along with providing some protection from the Utes, there was good reason to withhold complete trust.

The settlers also began to impose a disciplinary system on the Nuwuvi. John D. Lee and other community leaders had the Indian headmen administer the punishment themselves. In August of 1852, the brother of Ow-wan-nop, a local headman, struck Lee's wife with a piece of plank. It was decided that the offender would receive forty lashes to be administered by Ow-wan-nop.²⁵ The punishment was administered, but later the whites were faced by a Nuwuvi demand that if they were to accept this system of justice it must be equal. Llewellyn Harris was given thirty lashes for striking one Indian and whipping another. Thomas D. Brown recorded that "Jas Powell was appointed to whip him, this satisfied the Indians and the chains were taken off."²⁶ The Nuwuvi also were finding that the whites were not holding down the raids of Wakara and other Utes. The local leaders provided Wakara with encouragement in his raids, perhaps in hopes that the children he coerced out of the Nuwuvi would eventually end up in their hands. In March of 1851, George A. Smith gave Wakara a letter of introduction to indicate that he was friendly and wished to trade. It included the statement that "they wished to trade horses, Buckskins and Piede children we hope them success and Prosperity and good bargains."²⁷

After their arrival, the Mormons did take steps to end New Mexican involvement in the slave trade. They were motivated by

several considerations: a principled opposition to slavery, the belief that the Indians were mistreated by the Mexican slavers, and the fear that the Utes and the Mexican traders would band together in opposition to them. At a time when Mormons were taking over Ute lands, they feared an alliance between the Utes and the New Mexicans. The slave trade was so profitable for the two groups that both were strongly opposed to the Mormon attempt to end it.

In 1851, Daniel W. Jones was requested by Brigham Young to keep an eye on the movements of the Mexicans within the territory.²⁸ He notified Young when a party of twenty-eight New Mexicans arrived in Utah in the fall of 1851. They had come to acquire slaves. Subsequently, Young journeyed to Provo to meet with them. Pedro Leon, one of the traders, had obtained a license from the Governor of New Mexico to trade with the Utes. Apparently the practice of slavery was condoned by the government of New Mexico. According to Jones, who acted as the interpreter, Young explained to the New Mexicans that "it was a cruel practice to enslave human beings." They readily agreed, and Young stated that although the slave trade would no longer be tolerated, they were not too much to blame for following "an old established practice."²⁹ All the Mexicans, according to Jones, pledged that they would return home without trading for children.

Twenty of the New Mexicans were true to their word, but eight, including Pedro Leon, resumed their slaving operations in the San Pete Valley. Consequently, they were arrested and tried in Manti during the winter of 1851-52. The testimony is not very believable, but the New Mexicans claimed that the Indians had stolen and eaten some horses of theirs and the only repayment they could get was some children the Indians offered.³⁰ In spite of this defense, Judge Snow found the eight defendants guilty of slave trading, after a trial lasting several days. The New Mexicans were fined, but after an Indian woman and eight children were liberated, the fine was remitted and the traders sent away. A statement of protest made by a Mr. Lafayette Head, a friend of Pedro Leon, specifically stated that the liberated woman and children were Nuwuvi.

Head's protest is interesting in many respects. His account of how Pedro Leon acquired the Nuwuvi woman and children differs from that given by Jones as the defense given by the New

Mexicans at the trial. Oddly, Head's statement suggests that Pedro Leon traded for slaves quite willingly, giving the parents horses, which were killed for food. It is also interesting that Head called this practice "adoption" and justified it in much the same way as the Mormons were to do when they became the "guardians" of Nuwuvi children. Mr. Head justified the practice by saying that the children were adopted by "godfathers," and that the Indians were better off under the "godfathers" than they were in their native land. The "Payutahs," according to Head, were baptized, were treated like members of the family, and could be freed by a Prefect if maltreated. The men and women were automatically freed when married or when "the godfather" died.³¹

On January 31, 1852, the Utah legislature passed a law designed to end Mexican involvement in the slave trade. Pedro Leon's venture was apparently the reason for this legislation. The enactment was called "Act for the Relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners." In a lengthy preamble, the abuses of slavery were explained. Several practices of cruelty and torture were vividly described.³² It gave an entirely different picture of the New Mexicans' treatment of slaves than did Mr. Head's description of the same.

The law stated that whenever any person had "any Indian prisoner, child, or woman in his possession, whether by purchase or otherwise," he must immediately go before a "Selectman or Probate Judge." The judge would then determine if the person was properly qualified and if he was, indenture the Indian to him for up to twenty years. Selectmen (town or county officials) were authorized to "obtain such Indian prisoners, children, or women, and bind them to some useful avocation." The master to whom the indenture was made was required to send the "apprentice" to school, if there was one nearby, for three months of the year while the Indian was between the ages of seven and sixteen. The master was further required to "clothe his apprentice in a comfortable and becoming manner, according to his, said master's condition in life."³³

Thus the effect of the law was to legalize a practice in many ways similar to what the New Mexicans called "adoption." The law only indirectly prohibited the Mexican slave trade, it being unlikely that any Selectman or Probate Judge would authorize the indenture of an Indian by a Mexican. The Nuwuvi who had been in the posses-

sion of Pedro Leon were apparently made indentured servants. According to Garland Hurt, an Indian agent for the Utah Territory, "The Indian children, by order of court, [were] placed in the hands of the whites, as apprentices, for a term of years, according to their respective ages. . . ." ³⁴

The residents of Utah also feared the slave trade would create a Ute-Mexican alliance in opposition to them. Another act accompanied the one allowing indentured servitude. It stated that any trader who assembled or caused to be assembled "any number of Indians within the neighborhood or immediate vicinity of any white settlement" would be considered to be breaking the peace. ³⁵

The stir that Utah's prohibition of slave trading caused in New Mexico suggests that it was quite a business. The entire front page of the *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, a New Mexican newspaper, was devoted to the subject in opposition to Governor Young's action. ³⁶

The trial of Pedro Leon and the passage of the "Act for the Relief of Indian Prisoners and Slaves" did not, as the Utahns had hoped, completely discourage Mexican slave traders. The business was apparently too firmly established and profitable to both Utes and Mexican traders to be given up easily. In the spring of 1853, New Mexicans again entered Utah territory for the purpose of slave trading. They were led by a man named Dr. Bowman. After being asked to leave, Bowman refused, saying that the Indians would protect him. ³⁷

From the different accounts of this incident, it is difficult to piece together a consistent description of what occurred. Daniel Jones, for instance, states that the Mexicans soon left peacefully after "Bowman got into some trouble with the Indians by deceiving them in some of their promised trades, and he was ambushed and killed by them." Jones also remarked that, although he did not believe it, "it was rumored the Mormons had killed him [Bowman]." ³⁸ Other accounts, among them Brigham Young's, suggest that the Mexicans had not left quite so peacefully. Also, Edward F. Beale, as he was traveling on the Spanish Trail during the same time, met some of the Mexicans near the Colorado, traveling back to New Mexico. Beale's diarist wrote that the Mexicans reported that "they had been badly treated by the Mormons at the Vegas de Santa Clara, [Mountain Meadows] . . . They warned us to be on our guard." ³⁹

From the differing accounts of the numbers, intentions and activities of the Mexicans, it is only possible to get a general idea about what was happening. What is apparent is that Mexican traders were in the territory, and that a group of Utes, probably in the Sanpete Valley, were desirous of trading people to the Mexicans. What seems to have been centrally at issue to the authorities of Utah Territory was not so much the slave trade, but the fact that the Mexicans were trading arms and ammunition to the Utes. The Utes, all accounts agree, were ripe for rebellion, as the whites were encroaching on their land as well as prohibiting a profitable business. The hostilities known as "Walker's War" would begin during the coming summer.

The Mexicans told the Utes that "The Mormons had not given them sufficient compensation for their lands, that the Mormon stock should be as free to them as the game upon the mountains and that the measure prohibiting sale of children was an outrage."⁴⁰ Preservation of the slave trade may well have been the motive for the Mexicans' inciting the Utes to rise up in arms. But Brigham Young's actions suggest that abolition of the slave trade was a motive secondary to the fear that war with the native inhabitants was in the making and that the Mexicans were fueling it.

On April 23, 1853, Governor Young issued a proclamation and subsequently took measures, which, from all appearances, ended Mexican involvement in the slave trade. The proclamation declared that it had been made known to him that Mexicans were stirring up the Indians and furnishing them with arms and ammunition. In reaction, it ordered that thirty men proceed south to warn the inhabitants and "to arrest and keep in custody every strolling Mexican party, . . . and other suspicious persons or parties that they may encounter. . . ."⁴¹

Brigham Young then journeyed to Manti, followed by the militia whose purpose was to intimidate the Indians as well as to pick up "strolling Mexicans." Upon arriving in Manti, Young "found the Indians much bent on trading children to the Mexicans."⁴² If the Mormons would pay as high a price as the Mexicans in guns and ammunition, though, the Indians would trade the children to them. Young refused this offer, but promised to provide them with sufficient guns and ammunition for the purpose of hunting.

Garland Hurt, Utah Indian Agent, had a somewhat different opinion concerning this and related events. He wrote that "the authorities" were confronted by Wakara and his band of Utes when they sought to stop the Mexicans. Wakara defended the traders and threatened to kill the eight men trying to arrest them. The eight "were forced to submit."⁴³

This incident, said Hurt, caused Brigham Young to send out the militia. Hurt expressed misgivings about Young's action. He suggested that although the Spaniards were making threats and the Indians appeared unfriendly, Young had over-reacted and might well be causing instead of stopping trouble. Although Hurt feared a general outbreak, he thought that it would "be caused by the Whites pushing their settlements over the Indian country against their wishes or consent. The Indians have complained much on this subject."⁴⁴

Following the outlawing of the Spanish Trail slave trade by the Utah Territorial Legislature in 1852, the slave traffic switched from the distant Mexican settlements to the newer Mormon ones along the Wasatch Front. The law passed in January, 1852, only outlawed the slave trade in a round-about manner. It required that any white person in possession of an "Indian prisoner, child, or woman" must go before a selectman or Probate Judge who would determine whether the prisoner could be kept and set up an indenture period not to exceed 20 years.⁴⁵ Although Utah's militia ended the Mexican slave trade, slavery under the name of "indentured servitude" continued. The Mormons more or less assumed the role formerly played by the Mexicans. Mormon leaders encouraged church members to "adopt" the Indian children.

Brigham Young in a visit to the Iron County settlers "Advised them to buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could, and educate them and teach them the gospel, so that many generations would not pass ere they should become a white and delightful people."⁴⁶ The Indians seem to have been treated humanely in almost all instances. The 1852 Act had tried to make such treatment a legal requirement.⁴⁷ An outlet for orphaned or impoverished children who otherwise would not have had as good a chance for survival, was provided. A few Indians became equal to other children in the Mormon families. Some young girls grew up to marry their masters.

Most Indians were servants or farmhands for the whites. They were often treated and passed around like property. George A. Smith wrote on one occasion that "Brother Barnard presented me with a child, a Pihede girl about four years old. He purchased it off Walker for an ox."⁴⁸ Even Jacob Hamblin, who was probably the best white friend the Nuwuvi had in those years, was involved in the slave trade. In July of 1854 he wrote in his diary: "I bought an Indian boy about six years old. I gave for him a gun, a blanket, and some ammunition. Brother A. P. Hardy took him to Parowan and let Brother Judd have him. Brother Hardy was offered a horse for him by a gentile [a non-Mormon] . . . I bought him that I might let a good man have him that would make him useful."⁴⁹ In later years Hamblin purchased two girls in order to provide each of his wives with a personal maid.⁵⁰

Many of the children, despite being adopted, died at an early age. Thomas D. Brown told how he purchased five children, only two of whom lived until the end of the year.⁵¹ Zadok K. Judd purchased at least three children, one of whom survived until maturity. Most of the deaths seem to be attributable to measles and other white diseases to which the Indians had little resistance. Those who survived usually found themselves torn between two cultures. They were unable to accept or adapt to the strangeness of the whites who, in most cases, avoided dealing with them on an equal basis. On the other hand, white-raised Nuwuvi after a few years of education found it equally difficult to reject the material things the white society offered them. It was difficult to return to live with their people who were slowly becoming more and more impoverished. Nevertheless, many of the white-held Nuwuvi eventually ran away to return to Indian life.⁵²

The Mormon willingness to accept this kind of slave trade seems based on two things. First, was an ethnocentric attitude which made them unwilling to accept the worth of the careful balance the Nuwuvi had worked out with nature, an attitude that existed everywhere on the frontier. Americans everywhere misunderstood Indian culture, failing to recognize the value of living closer to the environment. This attitude led the Mormons to a belief that anything which removed the Nuwuvi from their traditional lifestyle was a benevolent

act. Brigham Young explained his position in a message to the Utah Legislature in 1852:

This may be said to present a new feature in the traffic of human beings; it is essentially purchasing them into freedom instead of slavery; but it is not the low, servile drudgery of Mexican slavery, to which I would doom them, not to be raised among beings scarcely superior to themselves, but where they could find that consideration pertaining not only to civilized, but humane and benevolent society.⁵³

A second reason to purchase Indians was a belief that it was the Mormon mission to restore Christianity to the Indians, whom they believed were former Christians. The most convenient way for them to accomplish the conversion was to raise children in their homes.

The Nuwuvi were forced to accept a new culture which they didn't understand and which was totally different from their own. In moving onto Nuwuvi lands, the new settlers were depriving the Nuwuvi of their traditional livelihood. Jacob Hamblin was one of the few to see this. He explained that "When the white man has settled on the [Nuwuvi] lands, and his cattle has destroyed much of their scanty living, there has always appeared in them, a disposition to make all reasonable allowances for these wrongs."⁵⁴ Nuwuvi children were supposedly purchased in order to save them from poverty and possible starvation. The settlers, however, in their relentless expansion into the fertile southern valleys that had served as the Nuwuvi's livelihood, very rarely realized the extent to which they were responsible for the impoverishment of the people they were trying to save.

"Origin of the Echo"*

Teugai (a witch) came near to a village one night and called to a little girl, "Bring me my child." The girl thought it was her mother, so she obeyed. Teugai had a basket on her back, and in it she put both the baby and the girl and carried them away, scampering through the woods. When the mother missed her children, there was a great search through the village for them. The people all believed that a teugai had taken them off.

Early the next morning they followed the old hag and found her asleep, wearied from her flight. The people quickly rescued the children.

When Teugai awoke and found they had taken the children from her, she went to her grandfather Togoav (Rattlesnake), taking all her own family with her. She begged him to take care of them, for she feared the people of the village would come to kill them and her also. Not knowing what to do, he swallowed them all. It made him very sick, and he asked them to crawl out again. This the children did, but the old teugai was stuck fast.

Then Togoav crawled out of his own skin, leaving Teugai in it. She shouted, "Let me out, let me out!"

"Stay where you are; be still!" Togoav.

Still she screamed, "Let me out!" But Togoav refused to help her and went away.

Then Teugai wriggled with the skin into a crevice in the rocks and made her home there. When the people of the village came in search of her, she repeated their words in mockery; and though they heard her voice, they could not find her.

Since that time all teugai live in snakeskins, and the echoes which are heard in the rocks are their spiteful mockings.

* Op. Cit., Powell, "Ute and Paiute Legends."

The Uneasy Peace

Although a temporary peace was established between the Nuwuvi and the new Mormon settlers by 1852, relations with the emigrant parties were for the most part less than friendly. The movement of horses and wagons across Nuwuvi lands had a damaging effect. In 1853 several men began importing large herds of stock to supply the booming population of California. Dr. Thomas Flint wrote that he and his companions were driving over 2,000 sheep, oxen, cows and horses and that another party under a Colonel Hollister had 11 wagons, 154 cattle and about 4,000 sheep.

Little concern was expressed by the travelers despite Indian complaints about the practice of camping in their fields. On the Santa Clara, Flint's party camped in a cornfield, allowing their animals to feed on the old standing stocks. An old Indian objected, and the party finally gave clothing and provisions to a dozen Indians as payment for trespassing.¹ The admission of trespassing and the payment, no matter how small compared to the possible damage done by their large herd, was at least a greater acknowledgment of Nuwuvi ownership than usually was given. When the Nuwuvi expressed concern that another party's animals might damage their crops, the whites arrogantly made them move the stock while they held several Indians hostage overnight.²

Considering the disrespect with which the white emigrants treated the Nuwuvi and their homelands, it is of little wonder that the Indians resorted to taking stray stock and raiding unprotected wagons as payment for white trespassing. This was more the case the further west one moved on the trail. Because of their isolation, or because of white tendency to become more aggressive the further they traveled in Nuwuvi country, the Nuwuvi of the Muddy and the desert beyond were the most hostile. The travelers, on the other hand, increasingly reacted to Nuwuvi raids. By the time Flint's party reached the Nevada desert, he was making entries in his diary like the following: "Monday 31st . . . For variety gave chase to two Indians"; "Saturday 5th . . . The Indians were getting to be so

troublesome that Hollister and ourselves concluded to declare war on them . . . so kept them off by taking a shot at them occasionally"; "Wednesday 9th-Thursday 10th . . . Indians on bluffs proffer friendship but we keep them out of rifle range by sending a bullet occasionally in their direction."³ This kind of activity did not encourage a friendly attitude on the part of the Nuwuvi.

The most serious incident in 1853 occurred when three Indians killed an emigrant's horse. In revenge, the concerned party fired on the next group of Nuwuvi to enter their encampment, killing one. These Nuwuvi turned out not to be the same as the who had stolen the horse. The incident enraged all of the Santa Clara Nuwuvi, who attacked the next company and wounded three whites, at least one fatally.⁴

The anger of the Nuwuvi continued through the winter, perhaps fueled by the Walker War being fought between Mormons and Utes to the north. George Lamphere was shot and killed between the Santa Clara and Virgin Rivers while accompanying the California Mail.⁵ As Solomon Nunes Carvalho, who had been with John C. Fremont on his 1854 exploring expedition as cartographer and illustrator, moved down the Virgin River on May 26, he noticed that "the high bluffs immediately over our camp are covered with Indians, all armed."⁶

The Mormon Church in 1854 began the second phase of its southern settlement, which had begun with the Iron Mission's 1851 settlement of Parowan. Brigham Young's often-stated policy toward the Indians was that "it is better to feed than to fight them." This policy was grounded in self-interest. The idea was that if the Indians were dealt with in a friendly manner the tide of Mormon settlement could proceed at a smooth pace. The policy also was based on religious tenets. The desire to work for the Indians' "salvation" led to the establishment of missions in the heart of Indian lands. This was similar to the Spanish policy of taking the Indians into their missions in order to provide "salvation".

In 1854, the Southern Indian Mission was sent to Nuwuvi country. Upon their arrival at Fort Harmony, the missionaries immediately set out to convert the Indians.⁷ John D. Lee had already baptized many of the Nuwuvi. Carvalho had found Nuwuvi as far away as Moapa who had been baptized.⁸ On the whole, though, the new

missionaries were the first sustained contact most of the Nuwuvi had with the new settlers.

Up until this time, the Nuwuvi had occupied almost all of the fertile valleys and oases in southwestern Utah and southern Nevada. The settlement which was to occur over the next several years would result in the present situation—almost every town in that country sits on land which was formerly a Nuwuvi campsite. This settlement occurred so rapidly that the Nuwuvi were overwhelmed before they had any opportunity to resist. The band leaders, men such as Kanarra, Toquer, and Tutsegavit, at first were willing to accept the trade, instruction, and buffer which the Mormons provided. Most were baptized, and to many of their band members they appeared to have changed their allegiance. Tutsegavit was at one time headman over the Santa Clara band called "Tonoquints" and powerful enough to have been thought by the whites to be the head chief over the Nuwuvi. Whatever his true status was, he lost it in 1858 when he was forced to leave the band. He journeyed to Arizona to preach Mormonism to the Apaches.⁹ Only a little over a year before, Tutsegavit had said in reaction to increased Mormon pressure: "We cannot be good, must be Paiutes. We want you to be kind to us. It may be that some of our children will be good, but we want to follow our old customs."¹⁰

The Nuwuvi had established stable communities, each occupied by a band and surrounded by small farms. It is a common error to think of all the Nuwuvi as desert nomads who wandered from spring to spring seeking sustenance wherever they might find it. This was true only of a remote few. Most had definite places to which they moved to hunt and to gather wild vegetables. Most had permanent campsites at or near these places where they lived when they were not living at their farms.¹¹ Even the bands of western Nevada who did not all have farming communities had a regular series of campsites located near springs or mountain hunting grounds which they visited in succession each year.

Those Nuwuvi who farmed did so successfully. Two letters to the *Deseret News* reflect how the Mormons were impressed with their efforts. On August 7, 1852, J. C. L. Smith and John Steele wrote of visiting the area where La Verkin and Ash Creeks join the Virgin and where a number of Nuwuvi were raising corn, squash, beans,

wheat and potatoes. All of which looked good. "They had in cultivation some four or five acres; their wheat had got ripe and was cut. I looked around to see their tools, but could not see the first tool, only their hands, to dig their ditches, make dams, or anything else."¹² William Adams wrote on December 11:

I will say this much concerning the Indians - only for their labor, there would have been hundreds of bushels of produce lost, that could not have been saved by the white population. I consider myself a common hand, to work, but I must give up to some of the Piedes for quickness, and the Pahvantes [Indians] work considerable, but not so willingly as the Piedes or Pahutes."¹³

Despite this admiration, however, the whites rarely hesitated to settle on Nuwuvi lands, often taking over Nuwuvi farm lands for themselves. The Nuwuvi bands occupied definite areas. White intrusion into these areas left many homeless. They were forced either to depend on other bands' generosity, thereby overcrowding other campsites, or to seek survival in the hostile deserts and mountains. A common result was that they became hangers-on around the white settlements.

The Mormon missionaries who settled in Nuwuvi country in 1854, with a few exceptions, had no real perspective on the results their efforts would have. After getting established at Fort Harmony, they set out to visit the Nuwuvi and to get a firsthand look at their culture. It was a culture which they often did not understand.¹⁴

In June, a group of the missionaries visited the Toquerits and Tonoquints on Ash Creek and the Santa Clara. The band living on Ash Creek was led by Toquer. Thomas Brown noted that they had "small stripes of corn, squash, potatoes, etc., all scratched in with their hands, for miles along Ash Creek and seem very industrious." The Nuwuvi had extensive knowledge of irrigation. Toquer and another had built an irrigation canal which was approximately one half-mile long.¹⁵

On the Santa Clara, Tutsegavit and his band had built dams. At once place the missionaries were shown "a good dam three rods wide slanting across the Santa Clara." An irrigation canal ran for three quarters of a mile around the base of a rocky mountain. The Nuwuvi had approximately ten acres under cultivation, and all the work had been done by hand. The Mormons soon discovered that all along the

river were small cultivated patches of from two to ten acres.¹⁶ This was indeed an accomplishment considering the pressures the Nuwuvi had been under from emigrants, traders, and slavers.

In 1855 a sad reminder of slavery occurred. Wakara, who had been the greatest of the slave raiders, Indian or white, died early in 1855. His death probably was followed by rejoicing among many of the Nuwuvi. His funeral was a last symbol of the viciousness of slavery. Two Nuwuvi women and two Nuwuvi children, all prisoners, were killed at the funeral along with fifteen horses.¹⁷

Soon after the initial encounter with the Mormon missionaries, many of the Nuwuvi began to have second thoughts about the whites settling among them. Sanpitch, a Ute headman, visited the Santa Clara in December of 1854 and urged the Nuwuvi to reject the missionaries and to only allow them to build and live there after payment of oxen and horses.¹⁸ Tutsegavit, after consideration, decided to allow the missionaries to stay. Toquer began to have some of the same feelings. He told the Mormons that the land was his and that they must pay him for it with oxen. The situation almost worsened when John D. Lee told the Nuwuvi they had a large debt to pay for stealing. The Nuwuvi decided to fight along side the Utes rather than pay the penalty. Lee called out an armed band of settlers, but finally settled matters by paying Toquer with some clothing.¹⁹

While these occasional expressions of hostility occurred, the Mormons were trying to establish friendly relations on a firmer footing. A large part of their efforts were directed toward convincing the Indians that Mormons were different from other Americans. The reason was partly practical. They knew of the resentment the Nuwuvi had toward the annual emigrant trains who passed through their lands. The Mormons' own resentment against the "gentiles" who had forced them to leave the United States was probably the more important reason. Thomas Brown stated that it would have been difficult to explain to the Nuwuvi why "U.S. nincompoops" often had more power to do them good than the Mormons. Consequently, the missionaries had to give them constant attention to win their affections. The most important asset to the missionaries was the Nuwuvi memory of "the oft repeated cruelties, shootings, and killings among them by the American emigrants." Brown felt that

the Nuwuvi came to think that the Americans weren't their friends while the Mormons were.²⁰

Lt. Sylvester Mowry encountered some of the results of this policy during his march to Southern California in 1855. In his report he claimed that on the Santa Clara, Virgin, and Muddy Rivers and at Las Vegas there were several hundred Indians along with missionaries "... whose sole object was to impress upon the Indians the belief in the inferiority and hostility of the Americans, and the superiority and friendship of the Mormons."²¹ Mowry also claimed that the Indians had been supplied with arms and ammunition. He stated that on one occasion the Mormons had convinced the Nuwuvi on the Muddy River that his command was on its way to attack their tribe. Mowry suggested that troops be sent over the route every year to convince the Indians of the government's good intentions and to insure peace.

By 1856 the local whites were trying to establish some form of political and judicial control over the Nuwuvi. This involved fines or whippings for those caught stealing and "government" under the authority of the whites.²² It was white policy to appoint, as headmen, Indians who were friendly to their interests. A letter to George A. Smith in 1855 announced that "Tom Whitney, an Indian was set apart [ordained by church authorities] as chief of these Paiedes. ..."²³

The white influence was greatest near the Iron Mission settlements of Parowan and Cedar City. The Indians who lived in the fields of Parowan Valley seem to have gradually abandoned the area as white population grew. In Cedar City, the Mormons took control of Nuwuvi farming along Coal Creek by appointing farmers-in-charge.²⁴ The thrust of their efforts was to adapt the Indians to white customs. E. H. Groves advised the missionaries, "Take not their wild habits and liberty from them at once, but by degrees, and help them to farm."²⁵

The Nuwuvi were not always willing to be treated like children and to abandon their customs at the whim of intruders. Brown complained to Brigham Young about the difficulty of selling clothes to the Indians because they prefer "an outside and offish course. . ." He wrote that only "The few that have been steady and regularly employed in the settlements have been clothed."²⁶ As Brown states, only the Indians close to the settlements were being controlled

successfully even though white influence was spreading on the Santa Clara, Virgin, and Ash Creek.

In 1855 the Mormon Church sought to extend its contacts by sending an Indian mission to Las Vegas. The missionaries first stopped at the Muddy River. The Moapits who lived there had been regarded as the most hostile Nuwuvi band by the white travelers on the emigrant trail. The members of the Las Vegas Mission were well aware of this reputation.²⁷

Yet when the missionaries arrived, they found that the Indians were not only very industrious but willing to be courteous if treated courteously:

The Indians here farm more than any others we have been among, some of them had about one load of wheat straw already thrashed out, they took charge of our horses daily, and were thankful for a piece of bread, but were not greedy, nor did they ever attempt to take any of our trappings, tho' they had ample opportunity. We left them with ample good feelings, we partook of their wheaten bread, wine made of sweet berries and some dried meat. We left them many sorts of seed carrots, turnips, etc., etc.²⁸

The Moapits' extensive farming might explain some of their uneasiness about white intruders. Parley P. Pratt visited the Muddy and saw about forty acres of wheat in addition to beans, melons and corn, all of which was carefully irrigated.²⁹

The missionaries found no Indians living at Las Vegas, but set out to organize a town and farms. No single band of Nuwuvi had always occupied Las Vegas. Many bands used it as a stopover and gathering site, while the Pegesits band sometimes lived there longer when emigrant travel was not too heavy. The mission served a dual purpose as a mission to the Indians and as a lead mining operation with mines in the mountain range thirty miles south of Las Vegas. Although a fort with adobe homes and irrigated farms was built within a short time with Indian labor, the mission was abandoned late in 1856, partly due to conflict between the missionaries and the lead workers.³⁰ Another cause for the abandonment was increasing conflict with the Indians, who were more and more dissatisfied with the permanent settlement in their midst.³¹

On the Santa Clara, the missionaries in the winter of 1855-56 also built a fort. They managed to induce thirty lodges of Nuwuvi

to gather at the settlement to help build a dam across the Santa Clara. The Nuwuvi were very reluctant to help because, as they told the missionaries, the Tonoquint (Santa Clara) River would dry up during the coming winter due to too little snow.

The dam was built and the Indians started farming along it, but the river dried up because of drought, as they had predicted. The problem was increased by new settlers who began diverting water from the Santa Clara upstream in Pine Valley. All that prevented the Indians from attacking the settlement was late, but saving rain.³² Whether the Nuwuvi had a good sense of justice or whether they just sought to insure that they would have enough water, the next year George A. Smith reported that there were thirteen Indian dams across the stream above the Santa Clara Fort, and there was not enough water for the fort to furnish good drinking water.³³

Relations were further worsened when the missionaries, who had encouraged in the Indians faith in their religious healing powers, refused to administer to a sick Indian boy unless he was washed. The boy died, and his father and several others swore vengeance. Jacob Hamblin and Thales Haskell sought them out and convinced all but Agarapoots, the father, to return. Agarapoots continued to threaten vengeance until his death.³⁴

About this time Hamblin recorded one of the only known accounts of Nuwuvi bands fighting each other. The Santa Clara and Moapit Indians began fighting after the Cedar Indians raided the Moapits. The whole conflict stemmed from the fact that the various bands needed to raid in order to obtain wives because the Nuwuvi female population had been so reduced by slavery.³⁵

In 1856 and again in 1857, the United States government made its first official contacts with the Nuwuvi. Agent George W. Armstrong was sent to investigate their condition. He found the northern bands already largely dependent on the Mormon settlements. They were living on Shirt's Creek near Cedar City and Wood Creek near Ft. Harmony, where they were farming under the total guidance of the local settlers. Armstrong noted the influence settlers were having on Nuwuvi lifestyle. He considered this influence to be beneficial.

The white effect had, however, not been all beneficial. Nuwuvi abandonment of their lifestyle had led to complete dependence on the whites even for food. Armstrong apparently did not recognize

this connection although his reason for encouraging Nuwuvi farming was that it would "in some measure relieve the citizens of this country of a great burden with which they have heretofore been taxed - that of feeding those Indians."

Armstrong found the bands further south largely engaged in farming. His account indicated how much the Nuwuvi depended on farming rather than just hunting and gathering as a food source. This farming took hard work. Armstrong saw one irrigation ditch which had been dug for a half mile through a gravel bed with nothing but wooden spades and which was four feet wide and four feet deep. While visiting the Moapa Indians he reported, "Like those on the Santa Clara, they depend in a great measure on their little farms or patches for subsistence, there being no game of consequence, and but few fish."

Armstrong also saw the effects of slavery in the diminished numbers of the Nuwuvi. This situation had continued under Mormon control. Very few of the children indentured in Mormon homes had offspring because of difficulty in finding marriage partners, either Indian or white. Those who married whites had children who tended to consider themselves white. In his official capacity Armstrong tried to convince the Utes not to steal Nuwuvi women or children. However, even though he observed Nuwuvi living as servants in Mormon homes, he had little understanding of the problems this practice brought to the Nuwuvi population.

Armstrong recommended that the government establish Indian reserves at two places. One was about thirty miles south of Fort Harmony in a valley containing about six hundred acres of farmland. The second site was about twenty miles southeast of Fort Clara and also contained about six hundred acres of farmland.³⁶ The government apparently did nothing about these recommendations.

On this visit Armstrong left numerous spades, hoes, and other farming tools with the bands he met. The next year when he returned, he noticed how the Nuwuvi with typical industry had put the tools to use and significantly increased their farming acreage. Tutsegavit now had sixty acres under cultivation. Others had used the opportunity to either increase their acreage or to begin farming for the first time. Tutsegavit and others were planning on raising enough to feed themselves and to trade to passing emigrants.³⁷

In August, 1857, Brigham Young appointed Jacob Hamblin to succeed R. C. Allen as President of the Southern Indian Mission. Young advised Hamblin to continue the Mormon policy of forming an alliance with the Indians against the possibility of American invasion: "Continue the conciliatory policy towards the Indians, which I have ever recommended, and seek by works of righteousness to obtain their love and confidence, for they must learn that they have either got to help us, or the United States will kill us both."³⁸

In September Hamblin went north to Salt Lake City, taking with him "twelve Indian Chiefs who had come to see President Brigham Young. One of them was the head chief, Tut-si-gabot. There was also the chief of the Piedes and of the Deserets and Santa Clara and Rio Virgin and of Harmony; . . . President Young had an interview for about one hour with the Indians."³⁹ What was said at this meeting is not known. The Nuwuvi and Pahvant headmen had enough time to return to the south before the disastrous incident at Mountain Meadows.

The incident revolved around a group of emigrants called the Fancher party. They had the bad fortune of entering Utah at a time of heightened tensions among the Mormons due to the approach of an invading army from the United States. As they moved south, a rumor went ahead of the party that they had poisoned a well near Corn Creek, resulting in the death of twenty Indians and some Mormon stock. Whether this rumor was based on actuality or merely used by Mormons to justify their story that the Indians carried out the attack is unclear. Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jacob Forney, after extensive investigation, found no evidence among the Pahvants who lived on Corn Creek that the story was true. In fact, Forney decided that the Pahvants had not participated in the affair at all and that all Indians involved were from the Nuwuvi bands in the region of Mountain Meadows.⁴⁰ Whatever the reason, upon camping at Mountain Meadows, the emigrant train soon found itself under attack. After several days, they agreed to a truce with John D. Lee, who by that time was in charge of both the large party of Mormons who had gathered at the scene and of the Indians. The emigrant men were led out single file with a Mormon at each of their sides until the signal was given. Then they were shot. The women and older children also were killed. Only those under ten were spared.⁴¹

After the massacre the Mormons, although admitting that a massacre had taken place, sought to place blame on the Indians. Subsequent investigation proved that although local Nuwuvi were involved, they played a secondary role to the local settlers in the actual murders. It probably will never be known how much the initial Indian attack was brought on by direct Mormon instigation or at least by Mormon encouragement.

It is evident that the next couple of years became a dangerous time for travel on the southern road, and as Jacob Forney said: "I am aware, also, that it is, and especially has been, exceedingly convenient to implicate the Indians in all such cases."⁴² Garland Hurt reported the murders of John Peltro and John Tobin with several others on the Santa Clara. He stated that the "Piedes" were reported to have committed the crimes, but "the Utah Indians are bold in asserting that the Piedes had nothing to do with it; and this opinion is also entertained by many white persons in the valley who dare not speak out."⁴³ Jacob Hamblin claimed that only a few days after the Mountain Meadows Massacre another emigrant train was almost attacked. He hurriedly sent men to persuade the Indians not to attack. The Indians agreed to take only the loose stock.⁴⁴

The danger to travellers was not only from the Indians. Some Mormons wanted to attack non-Mormon travelers. During this period, Hamblin visited two missionaries on the Muddy who wanted to attack a company of Salt Lake non-Mormon merchants who were passing through. He convinced them that instructions from Brigham Young were to take the company through safely.⁴⁵

Troubles continued into 1858. In January of that year, Hamblin sent Ira Hatch and Thales Haskell to the Muddy to try to keep the Indians there from attacking the passing trains.⁴⁶ Then, in a letter from Hamblin to George A. Smith written on September 10, the official closing of the Las Vegas and Muddy Indian Missions was announced. The Las Vegas Mission already had been unofficially closed for almost a year. Hamblin then announced that due to lack of success with the Nuwuvi the missionaries were going to redirect their efforts toward the Moqui (Hopi) and Navajo to the east.⁴⁷

Hamblin's announcement marked a turning point in Nuwuvi-white relations. It was the end of Mormon efforts to establish a special relationship with the Nuwuvi. Those who had been converted and

lived close to the settlements in a state of semi-dependence or who were living on Mormon homes would continue to be instructed and "civilized." Most of the Nuwuvi gradually became an ignored people in their own land. The settlers took little notice of them except when they were raiding, a mode of living which was forced upon them by a sudden increase in white settlement in southern Utah and Nevada. Gradually the Nuwuvi became more and more unable to maintain their traditional forms of survival. Their farmlands began to disappear beneath white homes and farms. The best hunting and gathering areas were taken over by cattle and sheep which seemed to be everywhere. Eventually all of the Nuwuvi had to rely on the white settlements as a source of income. In most cases they provided unskilled labor on ranches and farms and in the mines. They were rarely allowed to learn the economic skills necessary to stand on an equal footing in the white communities.

In the winter of 1857-58, Captain George Alonzo Johnson came up the Colorado River in a steamer, reaching a point which he named El Dorado Canyon. Ore was soon discovered in the vicinity and a series of mining camps were established well into the southern end of Nuwuvi country.⁴⁸ In 1858 Brigham Young sent a group of explorers to try to determine a good "place of refuge" for Mormon church leaders should they find it necessary to abandon Salt Lake City in the face of mounting United States opposition. Meadow Valley at the north end of Nuwuvi territory was decided to be the appropriate place. Although no permanent settlement was made until 1864, canals and dams were constructed in preparation.⁴⁹ So, by the end of the 1850's the Nuwuvi could see white communities from all directions beginning to creep over more and more of their country.

In reaction they became angry, and the indifference with which they were treated only made them angrier. Numerous reports were made of Nuwuvi hostilities in 1859 and 1860. The Utah territorial governor, Cumming, reported that he had "received reliable information that several acts of hostility have been committed recently by the Piede and Pi-Ute Indians between the Mountain Meadows and Santa Clara. . . ." During this same period of time a large group of Nuwuvi abandoned their homes and fearfully took refuge among the Havasupai because they had killed a Mormon.⁵⁰

The Nuwuvi abandoned much of their farming. Jacob Forney wrote that a man who had led an emigrant party to California twelve years earlier had seen many wheat and cornfields of at least six acres. The man's party had depended heavily on the vegetables they purchased from the Nuwuvi. Forney wrote that "These Indians have evidently degenerated very rapidly during the last twelve years, or since white men have got among them."⁵¹ He indicated that there had been a definite decline in farming as a result of this white pressure.

The biggest blow to the Nuwuvi stronghold in southwest Utah came in the early 1860's. During that period a large new group of Mormons began to settle in the country which they called "Utah's Dixie." The city of St. George was founded in the Autumn of 1861 on an old Nuwuvi campsite. Settlements spread rapidly until they occupied almost all of the fertile spots along the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers, where the Nuwuvi previously had farmed and camped. The Nuwuvi finally were cornered. They were forced either to abandon their homes and move in with other bands to the west, east, and south or to live off the new communities. Jacob Hamblin was unique as a white man, for he could understand the effect the increased white population was having. He wrote that:

At this time a considerable change had taken place in the spirit and feelings of the Indians of Southern Utah, since the settlement of the country in 1861-62. Up to that time, our visits among them and our long talks around their camp fires, had kept up a friendly feeling in their hearts. . . . The great numbers of animals brought into the country by the settlers, soon devoured most of the vegetation that had produced nutritious seeds, on which the Indians had been accustomed to subsist. When, at the proper season of the year, the natives resorted to those places to gather seeds, they found they had been destroyed by cattle. With, perhaps, their children crying for food, only the poor consolation was left them of gathering around their campfires and talking over their grievances.⁵²

Hamblin believed that this frustration led directly to theft and raiding, but that the settlers tended to react indiscriminately to these acts, punishing and further alienating the uninvolved Nuwuvi. It is no wonder that the most common adjectives applied to the Nuwuvi were words like "begging" and "thieving." The Nuwuvi, because of

loss of other food sources, were forced to adopt these occupations as a means of survival. Those who refused were forced to retreat further into the deserts and hills where survival was difficult, to say the least.

As Mormon settlement spread during the 1860's relations between the Indians and whites continued to deteriorate. The Mormons moved back into Nevada in 1864, settling Callville on the Colorado River and returning to Meadow Valley in the north. That same year Littlefield was settled on the Virgin River in Arizona. In 1865 settlers moved into the Moapa Valley, settling St. Thomas and St. Joseph and, later, West Point and Overton. All of these towns created new tensions. On August 27, 1864, the *Daily Telegraph* in Salt Lake City reported that the Indians in Meadow Valley had killed some stock and had threatened to attack the settlers and silver prospectors if they didn't leave.⁵³

Jacob Hamblin was kept busy during this period trying to keep peace with the Nuwuvi. He visited those who opposed the Meadow Valley settlers and found that the Matisabits (Meadow Valley Nuwuvi) had confederated with a band of Indians who had been driven out of California. They had abandoned their cornfields and were challenging the invasion of white settlers. The whites in turn had killed two Indians and were displaying equal hostility. Hamblin talked to the Indians, showing sympathy for their actions but explaining that in the end it would be worse for them to carry out their plans than to drop them.⁵⁴

Angry Nuwuvi also were gathering in Washington County, Utah. Hamblin visited the Indians between St. George and Harrisburg who had gathered for the purpose of carrying out their threat to destroy some of the settlements at the first favorable opportunity.⁵⁵ In December, 1865, he journeyed to the Muddy and found the settlers there ready to move because of Indian raids. They stayed, although the raids continued into 1866 and 1867.⁵⁶

O. H. Irish, Utah Superintendent for Indian Affairs, reacted to reports that the Nuwuvi were attacking the white intruders. He asked for permission to appoint a special agent to be sent south. He said the reason for the problems was the entry of mining interests in Southern Utah. He had heard that the Mormons had induced the Indians to warn the miners away because they opposed their activities. Although he had no proof of these charges, he felt

someone should investigate them, counteract such bad influences if necessary, and prevent the miners from encroaching on Indian rights. He suggested that the problems should be settled by moving the Nuwuvi to the Uinta Valley.⁵⁷ The last suggestion was to receive increasing attention in the following years.

Before Irish received official permission, conditions in southern Utah—particularly in Meadow Valley—deteriorated to the point that Thomas C. W. Sale was sent as a special agent to meet with the Nuwuvi. The Nuwuvi were angry as a result of “five of the leading men of the . . . tribe having been recently killed by some miners near Meadow Valley.”⁵⁸ The incident stemmed from the imprisonment of five Indians who had threatened a Panaca miner. All five were killed by pursuers after attempting to escape. Sale reported that the Indians were shot “under circumstances which rendered the act only a little better than murder.”⁵⁹

Because of the hostilities, Sale had a difficult time meeting with any of the Nuwuvi. With the help of Tutsegavit, he was finally able to meet with Indians from Meadow Valley, St. George, Pahrnagat Valley, and Santa Clara Valley. He gained some reassurance from the Indians that they would stop attacking the white intruders, but heard that the Muddy River Nuwuvi were attacking emigrants.⁶⁰ Sale also soon found that none of the Nuwuvi completely agreed to what the Government proposed for them. He tried to convince them to leave their country and go to Uintah Valley to live with the Utes. They refused and told him that the Utes had stolen their women and children for too long. Sale reported that they were “willing to get together at some place in their own country, but I think it impossible to get their consent to place them with the Utahs.”

Sale went on to recommend the establishment of an agency especially for the Nuwuvi.⁶¹ Irish forwarded the recommendation to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and recommended that Thomas Sale be appointed agent.⁶² He was not the person most likely to serve the interests of the Indians. In March of that year he had participated in an expedition which had discovered large new deposits of silver in Pahrnagat Lake Mining District. The expedition had been equipped by the Territorial Indian Superintendency.⁶³ Irish reported the discoveries as “likely to introduce a mining population into a portion of the country heretofore occupied only by

Indians." "Sale had in fact done some of his most delicate negotiating with the Pahrnagit Nuwuvi who had been attacking the Meadow Valley settlements since their founding.

Sale soon returned to Salt Lake City, and trouble immediately broke out again between the mining settlers in Southeastern Nevada and the Nuwuvi. In a petition to Utah Governor James Doty, the miners reported that they had been forced to suspend their operations.⁶⁵ Sale returned to Pahrnagit Valley and sought to pacify the local Indians, but by July of 1865 the miners were forced to temporarily leave again.⁶⁶

The hostilities continued into 1866 with the whites attacking the Indians as often as the reverse. In March of that year, a miner was killed between Panaca and Pahrnagit. The miners at first blamed the Mormons, whom they set out to raid. On their way they encountered a Mormon posse from Panaca who had captured an Indian named Okus who confessed to the killing. The miners were convinced and tied a rope around Okus's neck, forcing him to run behind their horses. The two groups of whites then attacked a Nuwuvi camp, killing the three men who were there and who "tried to 'resist' the posse." They then went to Okus's camp and picked up a second Indian named Bushhead. Okus and Bushhead were then hanged. The miners wanted to attack a third Nuwuvi camp, but the Mormons had had enough and "respectfully declined the offer."⁶⁷

Either because of these continual skirmishes between the whites and Nuwuvi or because the new mineral discoveries plus the increased Mormon settlement were considered more important, Irish abandoned his attempts to establish an agency. In September of 1865 he negotiated a treaty with six Nuwuvi providing for the removal of all Nuwuvi residing in Utah Territory to the Ute reservation in the Uintah Basin. The treaty was an extension of the one signed by the Utes at Spanish Fork on June 18, 1865, which provided for the removal of all Utah Indians to the Uintah Reservation. By this treaty the "Pi-cde and Pah-Ute bands of Indians" relinquished all "right of occupancy in and to all of the lands heretofore claimed and occupied by them . . . within the defined boundaries of the Territory of Utah." The Nuwuvi further agreed "to remove to and

settle upon the Uintah Indian Reservation within one year," and "to confederate with the several bands of Utah Indians. . . ."

As compensation they were entitled to all the improvements promised the Utes. The Government further agreed to give "the head Chief of the Pi-edé and Pah-Ute tribe" a house with five acres of ploughed and fenced land and one hundred dollars a year for twenty years. In addition he would receive "two yoke of oxen, two yokes and two chains, one wagon, one plow, ten hoes, six axes, two shovels, two spades, four scythes and snaths, one saddle and bridle and one set of harness." These items would be given to him within three months of removing to the reservation. The government was paying this insignificant price for an area including roughly the southern fourth of present-day Utah and part of present-day eastern Nevada. It included the recent mineral strikes at Pahrangat and Meadow Valleys in Nevada and in Washington County, Utah.

The treaty was signed for the Indians by "Tutz-e-gub-et," "Tahb-go," "O-wan-up," "Coots-ah-wah," "Pah-gah-shup," and "Yab-oots." ⁶⁸ Tutsegavit has already been referred to as an influential headman on the Santa Clara among the Tonoquints. It is probably he (although it might be Tahb-go) who is referred to in the treaty as "head Chief." He was influential, but he was by no means a head chief. In fact, as previously stated, he was at one time removed as headman of his band, though he was later restored. He was known as a good Mormon who cultivated friendly relations and often acted as a spokesman to his people in protecting the whites. Tahb-go is probably the same person as Tau-gu, an important headman of the Cedar band—the band most closely tied with and controlled by the Mormon Church. John Wesley Powell later identified Tau-gu as the "Chief" of eleven bands of Nuwuvi located in Utah and Arizona. ⁶⁹ It is doubtful that any Nuwuvi ever had that much power. The same power was claimed for Tutsegavit at the same time.

O-wan-up's name was also spelled "Awanap." He was headman of the band variously called "Pah-ra-goons" or "Pa-ru-guns." This band had inhabited the Little Salt Lake Valley when the Mormon Iron Mission arrived. ⁷⁰ By the time of the treaty signing they, like the Cedar band, had become laborers on Mormon farms or on their own farms under Mormon guidance. Some of them probably had joined the band they always had been closely allied with, the Pa-gu-its,

who lived around Panguitch Lake during part of the year and on the upper Sevier River the rest of the time. Pa-gu-its meant something like "fisherman,"⁷¹ which is close to the name of the fifth treaty signer, Pah-gah-shup (translated as "Trout Hunter"), who may have been connected with that band. Coots-ah-wah and Yab-oots are unidentifiable.

None of these men represented the Indians who were angry enough about white settlement to try to stop it. There is no indication that any of them were Pahranagits, Paroosits (Virgin River Paiutes), or Matisabits (Meadow Valley Paiutes), the bands that had been raiding and trying to stop the advancing settlements. These six men in no way could speak for the at least 2,000 Nuwuvi occupying the country that was to be given up. The treaty was not ratified and, consequently, had little or no effect on the lives of the Nuwuvi. It may have warned some of them about the kind of respect (or disrespect) the government would direct toward them and their land-holdings.

Following the 1865 treaty, the government again seemed to forget about the Nuwuvi. For four years no agent was appointed to them. During this time settlement continued to expand under the influence of the Mormon Church and the new mining strikes. The Nuwuvi apparently withdrew further and further into the desert ranges to avoid the frontier of white advancement. In 1866 and 1867 William Henry Jackson visited southern Utah, which once had been the heart of Nuwuvi country. Although he found town after small town of white pioneers, he saw no Indians until he was outside of Santa Clara, and he actually met no Nuwuvi until he reached the Muddy River. He found more living at Las Vegas and at Cottonwood Springs, areas that had served as only temporary camping spots in earlier years.⁷²

Some of the Nuwuvi joined with the Ute leader Blackhawk during his raids in the late 1860's. His group was composed of Indians from various different bands of Utes who were making a last-ditch attempt to hold off complete white control of Utah. Many of the Nuwuvi who didn't join Blackhawk were still heavily affected by his actions. In one incident the edgy citizens of Circleville, Utah arrested all the Nuwuvi encamped near their town. They then



Ai-at-tau-a or "Beautiful Man", a leader of the Moapit band. There were several leaders in the relatively heavily populated Moapa Valley. A Hillers photograph. (courtesy Smithsonian Institution)



Tau-um-pu-gaip, a leader of the Moapit band in 1873. By the time this picture was taken, Toshoup was considered to be the dominant leader at Moapa. A Hillers photograph. (courtesy Smithsonian Institution)

massacred the entire group when they tried to escape, sparing only some small children.⁷³

Other Nuwuvi were helping Jacob Hamblin guard the southern settlements from Navajo raids in the late sixties and early seventies.⁷⁴ Despite this aid, on at least one occasion the whites took out their frustration against Navajo raids by murdering a group of innocent Nuwuvi. On January 8, 1866, Dr. J. M. Whitmore and Robert McIntyre were killed by Navajos. The Mormon militia apparently knew that the Navajos were responsible. However, when they found a group of Nuwuvi nearby in possession of the dead men's clothing (which had probably been taken from the bodies), they killed seven of them.⁷⁵

By 1869, Nuwuvi lifestyle had been disrupted. The Nuwuvi farmlands along the southern Utah streams and to some extent in Nevada had been occupied by new settlers. The Mormons were busily exhorting newly baptized Indians to "begin" farming. The Nuwuvi in Nevada still were farming at Moapa and had small gardens at places like Cottonwood and Indian Springs, but many had been forced to become even more dependent on their skills of gathering food from the meager desert. Others had become little more than paupers who were dependent on the Mormon communities for support. Still others had retreated to the hills, from which they made periodic raids on the stock and crops of the settlers. The Nuwuvi, though, had never been a warlike tribe and were not well organized enough to offer any effective resistance to more powerful groups. By 1869, many were destitute and in need of aid. That year the government finally made a commitment to provide aid and protection by appointing the first local agent for the Nuwuvi.

"Chuarumpurunkunt and the Yukuts"*

Chuarumpurunkunt (He who dug the roots of the yucca) was digging the roots of the great yucca. Seeing two deer, a buck and a doe, he hid himself in the reeds. Then, taking a leaf of the cottonwood tree, he made a whistle with which he imitated the cry of a young fawn. This attracted the old deer, and when they came nearby Chuarumpurunkunt killed them with his arrows. Looking around, he found two *yukuts* (fawns). He came up to them and pretended to be their friend. "There are some bad people around here," he said; "they have killed your father and mother. So come with me; I will show you where to hide." He took them to a pit nearby and put them in and went away.

Three days later he returned to kill and eat the fawns, but seeing that they were very poor he thought of a plan to get them to eat grass for a few months and become fat and large. So he told them that the wicked people had gone away, but that they would return soon. He told them to eat grass nearby every day and not to wander far away. They were to go no further than the spring which was nearby. Whenever they had eaten enough, they were to hide again in the pit.

In time these fawns grew and became fine fat deer. When they were older, they said to each other, "Who knows, this man may have killed our parents, and maybe he will come back and kill us. They talked between themselves until they decided to go and get advice from their grandfather, Togoav (Rattlesnake).

Now when Togoav heard their story, he said: "My children, you were very foolish in believing the words of Chuarumpurunkunt; he is a great deceiver. When you are in trouble, do not listen to a stranger but go to your friends for advice." Then he led them up to the Markagunt Kaivwavi (Markagunt Plateau) and showed them the rich grasses which they could eat, and took them to the clear spring where they could drink, and led them to the aspen groves

* Op. Cit., Powell, "Ute and Paiute Legends."

where they could rest in the shade, and taught them a song. Then Togoav returned to his home on the Unka Mukwanikunt (Vermilion Cliffs).

When Chuarruumpurunkunt came to the pit, he expected the fawns to be grown to fine fat deer. When he found that they had left, he was enraged and started searching around. He came upon their tracks and followed them to the home of Togoav. He arrived there at the same time that Togoav returned from the Markagunt Kaivwavi. "Where are the deer I had in my pit?" said Chuarruumpurunkunt. "You have stolen them and eaten them." Togoav replied, "Not so; they came to me for advice and I sent them away to a land where you cannot find them; now I know that you are a liar and a bad man; you shall die!" Togoav then killed him. The fawns lived on the Markagunt Kaivwavi for a long time and often sang.

The Reservations

Moapa

In the 103 years between 1869 and 1972, the Moapits suffered through the near destruction of their reservation at the hands of corrupt white men, but were able to turn that situation around and begin a new era of economic growth. In October of 1869, R. N. Fenton reported at Saint Thomas, Nevada, on the lower reaches of the Muddy River as Indian Agent for the Nuwuvi. He "found no one in charge of the agency, and from the best information that can be obtained, there never has been an agent in this tribe of Indians (the Pah-Utes) previous to my being assigned to this duty."¹ Fenton was appointed by the Nevada Superintendency for Indian Affairs in Nevada's first attempt to exercise control over the southern triangle of the state, which had wavered between the influence of Arizona and Utah. His first action was to recommend the establishment of a reservation to be "located on the Upper Muddy in Nevada, about 25 or 35 miles north of this point [St. Thomas], containing from 700 to 1000 acres of fine farming land, also a good range for stock."² He estimated that there were about 3,500 Nuwuvi in Nevada, Arizona, Utah and California. He urged that the government quickly supply them with their annuities and reported that the Indians were complaining bitterly about the way they had been ignored while other tribes received regular annuities.³

Fenton, while seemingly expressing true concern over the plight of the Indians under his supervision, moved his agency to Pioche, a town which was too far north of the heart of Nuwuvi country to serve more than a few. While he moved, relations between Nuwuvi and whites further south continued to deteriorate. In 1870, for example, two white men and one Indian were killed near Las Vegas.⁴ Captain W. R. Johnson reported that in July of 1870 he was attacked twice while traveling through Southern Nevada.⁵ Fenton apparently did little to actually benefit the Nuwuvi despite his expressions of concern. When his successor, Charles F. Powell, arrived

at Pioche he reported that the Nuwuvi had been "shamefully neglected by their former agent." Fenton had been "profuse in promises," but Powell felt that he had broken them all, leaving the Nuwuvi suspicious of government agents.⁶

By 1871, two things had happened which tended to increase tensions. That year the Mormons who lived along the lower Muddy River returned to Utah because the area in which they lived was proven to be under the jurisdiction of Nevada, obligating them to pay taxes to that state. Rather than do so, they moved back to Utah. Many of the Nuwuvi who originally occupied the land on which the Mormons settled had been forced to turn to the intruders for jobs and support. When that support stopped, the necessity for survival left many of these Indians with the choice of raiding or starving. The other thing which increased hostilities was the discovery of gold and silver in Arizona, which led to increased travel through Nuwuvi country by miners on their way to the strikes. The Nuwuvi demanded that they be paid compensation by white men crossing their lands and using their grass and water. Charles Powell recommended that the government alleviate conditions by establishing a reservation at St. Thomas and by appropriating \$65,000 to begin its operations.⁷

The next year, 1872, G. W. Ingalls was appointed as the new agent for what was then being called the Southeast Nevada Indian Agency.⁸ He agreed with his predecessors that the Nuwuvi needed to be gathered together at some point on a reservation. He also agreed that the most likely spot was the Moapa Valley of the Muddy River. The result was that on March 12, 1872, President U. S. Grant issued an Executive Order establishing a reservation in the southeastern part of Nevada. The reservation included approximately 3,900 square miles.

This area covered a large part of southeastern Nevada and included portions of the Virgin River drainage as well as the Muddy River. John Wesley Powell and G. W. Ingalls, in a special report later in 1873, recommended that the boundaries be extended to the east and to the west, thereby providing more farmland and access to timber. The government considered these suggestions, and on February 12, 1874, a new Executive Order was issued by Grant. It cancelled the first order and pushed the reservation's boundary

eight miles further east and twenty miles further west. If the government had retained this reservation, it might well have provided enough land for all the Nuwuvi it proposed to move there. A little over a year later, the U. S. Congress instead reduced the reservation to one thousand acres.

By the time of the founding of the reservation, Ingalls had managed to gather six bands of Nuwuvi, containing about four hundred members, at the abandoned Mormon town of West Point. There he had parceled out tracts of land to each of the bands and provided them with seeds. A school had been organized with James MacGarigle as teacher. The school opened in an abandoned adobe building with twenty pupils.

In 1873 Powell and Ingalls, as Special Commissioners, visited all the Great Basin tribes of Indians. Their report included an examination of the conditions of the Nuwuvi with a view to remove them to some central reservation. Even though the Muddy Reservation had been created to provide for all the Nuwuvi, the idea of moving at least the Utah Nuwuvi to the Uintah Reservation in Northern Utah was still being seriously considered. This was probably because the 1865 treaty, which a few Nuwuvi had signed, provided for their movement. This treaty was unratified but undoubtedly was still being considered by the government.

Part of the Special Commissioners' instructions were that they induce some Nuwuvi leader to visit Uintah and encourage them to make their homes there. In obedience to these instructions, Powell and Ingalls met with two Utah Nuwuvi headmen, Taugu and Moak Shinauav. They told the whites that they had discussed going to Uintah with their people. The suggestion had been unanimously rejected because "the Utes of Uintah had been their enemies from time immemorial; had stolen their women and children; had killed their grandfathers, their fathers, their brothers and sons, and . . . were profoundly skilled in sorcery."⁹

Since it was found impossible without using force to move the Nuwuvi to Uintah, the commissioners began to adopt their secondary instructions. These involved examining conditions at the Muddy or Moapa Reservation and encouraging the Utah Nuwuvi to move there. The result was that after visiting the reservation, the Nuwuvi delegations agreed to join the bands already at the Muddy if the

government would provide for them temporarily and give them enough aid to establish themselves as farmers.¹⁰ Powell and Ingalls noted that the Nuwuvi "have always been an agricultural people."¹¹ They reported that before white men settled in the country they had all cultivated the soil, and would have continued to do so if they still had land in the areas they occupied.¹²

The Special Commissioners recommended an appropriation of \$96,400 for the Nuwuvi reservation and of \$32,050 for payment of claims of white settlers living on the reservation.¹³ The government, however, was less and less willing to give the Nuwuvi adequate aid. Part of the problem stemmed from the white settlers for whom the Special Commissioners had asked \$32,050. The Commissioners reported that "They occupy the best lands and control much of the water which is needed for the reservation, and it was only by their sufferance that the Indians were able to plant a crop this fall. It will not be possible for the Indians to proceed with any extensive farming until these people are removed."¹⁴ Their presence caused tensions to always be on the brink of breaking down into war. It was reported that "there is a constant conflict between them and the Indians, which becomes more bitter daily, and, as the number of Indians is increased, it is liable to result in disastrous consequences."¹⁵

The government's failure to remove these settlers plus the lack of appropriations for the reservation discouraged the Nuwuvi from going there. By the end of the year in which the proposed removal was to take place, only five hundred out of over three thousand Nuwuvi were at Moapa. Ingalls told his superiors that five hundred more would have moved to the reservation permanently if they had been encouraged to come and remain. The government's failure to provide adequate supplies and to remove the white settlers were given as reasons for this failure.¹⁶

The Moapa Reservation had such a shaky start that it was no surprise things worsened. Nevada citizens complained through their territorial legislature that they had not been asked for the approximately four thousand square miles included in the reservation. Nevada's Congressmen convinced the United States Congress, without any concern for the rights of the Indian occupants, to reduce the Nuwuvi reservation to "one thousand acres to be selected by the Secretary of the Interior, in such manner as not to include the

claim of any settler or miner." Agents Bateman and Barnes selected a section of land in the upper part of Moapa Valley. Secretary of Interior C. Delano confirmed the selection and set aside the land for the reservation on July 3, 1875.



An overview in the early 1900's of the valley oasis which forms the Moapa Reservation. (courtesy National Archives)

The primary responsibility for reducing the reservation belongs to Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada, who pushed the proposal through Congress without a hearing. As late as December of 1874, A. J. Barnes, who by then was the Moapa agent, reported that all but one of the settlers in the area affected had agreed to the settlement of their claims proposed by Powell and Ingalls. They had gone so far as to sign a petition to that effect. Barnes complained that the wife of the one opposing settler had too much influence on Nevada's Congressmen.¹⁷ She may have influenced Stewart, who, however, continued to be a strong opponent of Indian reservations throughout Nevada.

Conditions had also worsened because of Congressional failure to appropriate sufficient funds to operate the agency and reserva-

tion. Barnes reported that on his arrival agency affairs were in a mess. There was a large deficiency in funds, creditors were demanding payment, the agency no longer had any local credit, and the agent was looked upon with suspicion. Barnes began an attempt at organization, but the situation deteriorated to the point that the school established in 1872 soon was discontinued for lack of funds.¹⁸

One result of Indian association with the whites was the occasional outbreak of disease. In 1873 "malarious diseases" spread among the Muddy Valley Indians.¹⁹ In 1874 Barnes reported that the process of removing the remaining settlers from the valley should be speeded up because "Already the influence of the whites among these Indians is manifesting itself, by diseases that have been contracted."²⁰ These epidemics continued to break out periodically during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. The diseases varied but were all reflections of the expanding contacts with whites. The more common ones were measles, tuberculosis, and influenza. They were all diseases of whites to which the Nuwuvi had not built up immunity. They played a considerable part in shrinking the Nuwuvi population.

Late in 1875 A. J. Barnes was appointed Nevada Indian Agent, and the Southeast Nevada Agency at Moapa was added to that agency. Barnes recommended that the resident physician at Moapa be transferred to the Nevada Agency headquarters at Pyramid Lake.²¹ The government seemed to be slowly removing itself from its responsibility for the Moapa reserve. In fact, the reservation was entering a period which was to last into the early twentieth century, a period of government policy of ignoring Moapa specifically and all of the Nuwuvi generally. With the reduction of the reservation, the concept of gathering all the Nuwuvi at Moapa already seems to have been abandoned. Those living outside of southeast Nevada were neglected completely by the government. They were forced to depend largely on local white communities. The reservation itself sank into a morass of corruption from which it would not escape until the early 1900's.

By 1877 Barnes seems to have realized that he could not supervise effectively the reservations in northern Nevada and Moapa also. Transportation was too primitive. Consequently, supervision of Moapa had become almost nonexistent. Barnes proposed removing

the Moapits to Walker River and Pyramid Lake reservations in order to combine them with the Northern Paiutes.²² This was at best a stop-gap solution, because it did nothing to provide for the vast majority of Nuwuvi still living off the reservation. It is doubtful that even those living at Moapa would have agreed to such a move without use of force.

Conditions got so bad on the reservation that hardly any Indians were living there. A local farmer, Isaac Farmington, reported that because no one was there to prevent it, whites had been stealing from the reservation. They particularly had been stealing the reservation cattle. He expressed hope that authorities would look into the situation "for the Indian service of southeast Nevada is a robbery, a disgrace to church and state, and an imposition of the vilest sort upon the Indians." He emphasized that there was not an Indian on the reservation, that the agent had not been there for nearly two years, and that there was no one in charge who had any control over the Indians.²³

A former employee wrote later in 1877 that "Mr. Barnes had so utterly and shamefully neglected the Indians on the Moapa Reserve in the Muddy Valley for the last two years that the very name of the Agency has become a bye word [sic] and a reproach."²⁴ The only supervision at Moapa during this period of time was from a farmer-in-charge, and even this supervision was not always present. The farmer usually was involved in conflicts over which white settlers were going to have use of the reservation stock. After Benjamin Holland, the reservation farmer, was shot and killed by four white men in an incident probably related to the cattle stealing, another employee, Robert Logan, put himself in charge without authorization. Barnes ended Logan's "self constituted superintendency" by driving him from the reservation and by having him arrested for cattle stealing.²⁵

In 1879 the government appointed a new farmer-in-charge, W. R. Bradfute. Upon arriving he reported that the farmland was in poor condition because of flooding from irrigation ditches which had become clogged with vegetation. There were no crops being raised on the land. The reservation buildings were in ruins, the farming tools were worthless, and only a few Indians were living on the reservation.²⁶ The continuing problems at Moapa finally led the

government in 1880 to send James E. Spencer, the newly appointed Nevada Indian Agent, to investigate. This was the first recorded time a Nevada agent had visited the reservation since Barnes left in 1875. Spencer's report, if anything, was even less encouraging than Bradfute's:

The reservation is entirely deserted by the Indians, solely because it is unprotected from stock owned by herders whose cattle and horses graze in the valley both above and below the reserve, and are left, if not encouraged, to stroll over the lines and devour every green thing in their way, whether willows, pasturage, meadow or growing crops. I . . . laid off, by metes and bounds a tract of land above and one below, and including the present reserve, and recommended this enlarged reservation to be set aside by Executive order. Two important objects would be attained by this enlargement; first, it would make the territory as large, but not larger than the tribe require; second, it would give them a reservation well, yet cheaply, protected by natural barriers against all marauding herds, at least to such an extent that but little fencing would be required to make the protection complete. No action, of which I am apprised, has yet been taken on my recommendation, and as a consequence the Indians are scattered over the surrounding country for 200 miles around, eking out a precarious existence . . . a life not of their choice, but forced upon them for lack of a protected reservation equipped with a very few of the necessary appliances for commencing the work of tilling the soil.

The farmer-in-charge has the care, unaided of 6 mules and 80 head of cattle that are pinched with hunger nearly the whole year round, as the stock of outsiders devour most of the herbage both on and off the reservation. The buildings are all more or less dilapidated, implements and wagons worn out or long ago fallen to pieces in that searching, arid climate. . . . But, wisely or unwisely, not one Indian has resided on the reservation to be demoralized by the sad spectacle thus presented of the white man's waning civilization. I am also informed that these Indians have reaped no benefit whatever from this reservation for several years, except that a few have been there employed as laborers for mere wages, while they are not reluctant to tell where the harvests there raised have gone. This is a painful history for me to write, and reveals gross neglect or mismanagement of the affairs of the Moapa River Reservation. Who is to blame; or more properly, is it my province to inquire who will inaugurate reform? That reservation, enlarged as I proposed and protected by that enlargement, would afford a good home for 600 Indians. I will furnish the Indians if the government will furnish and equip the reservation.²⁷

Instead of accepting responsibility for this "gross neglect" and seeking somehow to "inaugurate reform," the government revived the idea of removing the Nuwuvi to one of the Northern Paiute reservations. Spencer was ordered to investigate conditions at the Walker River Reservation in hopes that they could be removed there, but it seems that nothing further was done about this recommendation. Moapa and the Nuwuvi were again left by the government to seek their own means of survival.

The extent to which the government ignored Moapa is indicated by the Nevada Agent's annual reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In 1881 there was one small mention of Moapa, saying that the Indians show no interest in farming there because of the continued trespass by white-owned cattle and that Spencer's recommendations should be carried out. In 1882 there was no mention of Moapa. In 1883 the Agent reported that the Nuwuvi had begun to show some interest in farming. In 1884 there was again no mention. The Agent during this time apparently made no effort to get an accurate picture of conditions at the reservation over which he had direct control. No one seems to have known or cared what was happening at Moapa. The only information was provided by an occasional letter or report from W. R. Bradfute, farmer-in-charge, a man who was later found to be dishonest.

There is little record of what the Nuwuvi were doing at this time other than they were not living on their reservation. Most had retreated further and further into the desert or had connected themselves to scattered white settlements like Bunkerville, St. Thomas, and Las Vegas. The Utah Nuwuvi had become more and more dependent on the Mormon settlements in that state. It was clear that survival was becoming harder and that their population was shrinking. In 1885 a Nevada Agent finally visited Moapa and reported that the population was shrinking rapidly. An estimate the year before had placed the Nevada population at 600. In one year the farmer-in-charge had reduced his estimate to 157, only 24 of whom resided on the reservation. The others were located as follows, "At Bunkerville, 30; St. Thomas, 35; Las Vegas, 23; Pioche and Panaca, 25; Hico, 20." ²⁸

It is probable that these figures were inaccurate because they failed to take into account the Indians who lived in extreme western

Nevada and others who were out of reach of any census. It was also to the farmer-in-charge's advantage to show that there were not many Indians in need of using the reservation, thereby giving no indication of how many Indians were displaced by his actions. However, the previous year's figure was probably based on the same criteria so it is evident that the Nuwuvi population was declining rapidly.

The Agent, W. D. C. Gibson, went on to recommend that because of the small number of Nuwuvi on the reserve it should be abandoned. He suggested that all reservation property be sold or allotted to the Indians.²⁹ He also noted that he was not furnishing Moapa with supplies because of the distance involved in transporting them. This had been the apparent policy of the Nevada Agents for some years. The government seems to have agreed with Gibson that the best way to deal with a problem which had been brought on and enhanced by neglect in the first place was to shirk it off. In 1886 Gibson was "informed that it is the intention of the Department to abandon this reserve, as there are but twenty-four Indians living there all told."³⁰

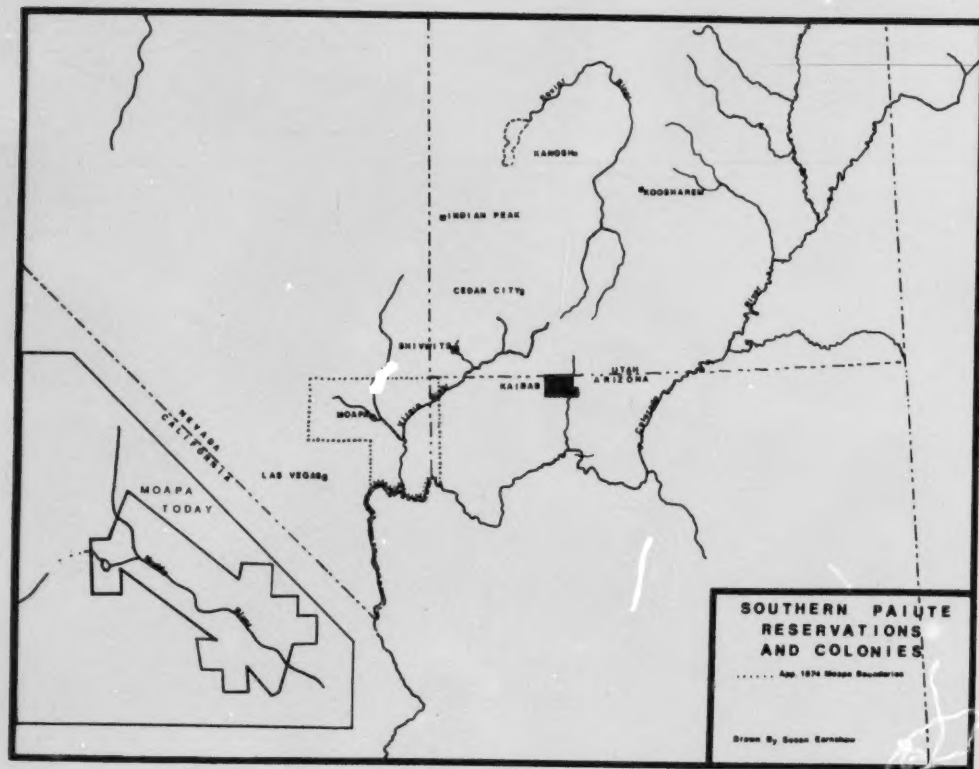
In 1887 H. S. Welton, Special Agent, was sent to Moapa to investigate charges of corruption against W. R. Bradfute, farmer-in-charge, and to close out reservation affairs. When he arrived, Welton found Bradfute and eight Indians living on the reservation. The rest of the Nuwuvi had refused to come onto the reservation while Bradfute was there. The Indians who were living on the reserve were forced to farm off of it because the thirty-five cultivated acres on the reserve were rented out to white men by Bradfute for his own benefit. The government stock was also off the reservation because it had been rented out to white ranchers.

Welton recommended that a fence around the reservation, water ditches, and cows be provided to the Indians. He then fired Bradfute and took all but twenty-three head of the cattle to the nearest railhead for sale. The receipts of the sale and the twenty-three remaining cattle were issued to the Indians. Following the dismissal of Bradfute, one hundred and eighty-five Indians returned to the reservation. They chose a local white stockman, L. J. Harris, as their trustee, and Welton closed out all of the agency affairs.³¹

Welton did his best to straighten out matters, and at first it seemed that he managed to do so to some extent. The closing out of government supervision, however, was just one further step in the continuing policy of neglect. Moapa seems to have been too inviting for corrupt white men, probably because of the government's unwillingness to take charge and insure against further corruption. Combined with the isolation of the reserve, this condition made Moapa a great temptation for the dishonest.

Between the years 1888 and 1900 there is hardly any record of what happened at Moapa. It is apparent, though, that L. J. Harris was taking advantage of his position as trustee. In 1881 the public survey reached the reservation. Its findings moved the reservation one-half mile to the northwest from where it previously had been surveyed by Bateman and Barnes in 1875. In 1895 L. J. Harris learned about this boundary conflict and urged his partner, James Pickett, to buy the lands thus placed outside the reservation from the state of Nevada. When a resurvey was made of the reservation boundaries in 1902, it found the Bateman and Barnes survey to be correct and the public survey to be wrong. Conflict immediately arose because of the selection of the disputed lands by Nevada and their resultant purchase by Harris and Pickett. Supervisor Holland, who made an inspection trip in 1900, found Harris had occupied the government buildings which were on the disputed land and had dispossessed the Indians.³²

As a result of the new government interest brought on by this land conflict, Indian Agent D. W. Manchester visited the reservation in 1903. Interest had been revived even to the extent that the government decided to take charge again at Moapa. W. C. Sharp was appointed Industrial Teacher-in-Charge in December of 1902. Manchester meanwhile reported that, although he accounted for 150 Moapa Nuwuvi, only 75 to 80 lived on the reservation. He recommended that Harris be run out of the country.³³ Harris did in fact leave in 1903, but Pickett quickly moved into the government buildings and refused to budge. On June 12, 1903 the Department of the Interior gave in and directed that the 1881 survey be accepted,³⁴ which left some Paiutes living off the northern boundary. Therefore, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended that two tracts of land totaling 103.28 acres be added to the reservation. This was





Old Bishop, a traditional Moapa leader, in 1906 in front of his kaneec. (courtesy Nevada State Museum)



Mary and Lilly Beppo at Moapa. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)

done in an Executive Order issued by Theodore Roosevelt on July 31, 1903.

William Sharp's first annual report in 1904 indicated some likelihood of improvement at Moapa, including the building of a new schoolhouse and some farming success. Things were not completely rosy though. Of the 141 Nuwuvi at Moapa, all those that were able to work were off the reservation in search of labor. The sale of liquor to Indians off the reservation was draining them of any cash they earned. Large herds of cattle continued to trespass on the reservation, causing damage to growing crops.³⁵ By 1906 Sharp reported that there was little farming on the reservation because of intoxication and because the Nuwuvi earned more working for the ranchers and farmers down the valley where there was much demand for their labor.³⁶ Disease, which had been a major problem with the Nuwuvi since the arrival of white men, continued to shrink their population. There were few massive epidemics but enough sickness to bring a steady decline in numbers. In 1904 the population at Moapa was 141; in 1905 it was 136; and in 1906 it was 129.

In 1912 two Executive Orders adding land to the reservation were issued. The first, on October 28, added 89.70 acres. The second, on November 26, cancelled the first and added 128.70 acres instead. That same year agency headquarters were moved to Las Vegas in order to provide better access to all of the Nuwuvi of Southern Nevada. Supervisor of Indian Schools Otis B. Goodall made an inspection trip in 1913 and recommended that agency headquarters be relocated at Moapa. He reported that the Nuwuvi population was rapidly diminishing due to tuberculosis and that the Indians with whom he talked "stated that they would soon pass away and leave their homes to the whites."³⁷ This statement shows the resigned attitude to which the Nuwuvi had come in reaction to the growing white population on their former homelands.

In 1914 the land at Moapa was allotted to almost all of the Indians there. Each family received 12 to 25 acres of "good land." By this time the liquor problem was so bad that the white town of Moapa, which had a population of "scarcely a score of people," had three saloons.³⁸ Part of this problem stemmed from the difficulty of prosecuting white offenders. In order to do so the agent had to travel all the way to Reno to testify against those arrested. In 1916

E. G. Murtaugh, Superintendent and Physician for Moapa, recommended that Moapa be transferred to California judicial jurisdiction to help solve the problem.³⁹

In 1918 a new school was built at Moapa, and the agency headquarters were returned there under Physician and School Superintendent L. B. Sandall. He reported that health and sanitary conditions there were very poor and that the only water supply was from the irrigation ditches.⁴⁰ The next year some of the school children were sent to the Ft. Mohave boarding school, thereby helping to relieve a food shortage brought on by grasshoppers.⁴¹ In 1925 the Moapa Day School was closed following an epidemic of whooping cough. The students were sent to Fort Mohave and Sherman Institute boarding schools.⁴²

In the 1920's conflicts arose at Moapa over attempts to get the Indians to abandon any traditional religion or ceremony. The Superintendent in 1921 went so far as to recommend that any persons practicing the traditional "singing" such as at burials should be taken off the reservation and kept away from the other Indians entirely.⁴³ Another conflict arose over the location of the agency. In 1922 the office almost returned the agency to Las Vegas but eventually decided to keep it at Moapa.

The addition of grazing land was a major concern at Moapa during the twenties. The addition of 200 acres was recommended by Sandall first in 1920 and again in 1924 when he reported that it was the issue of most importance to the Moapa Indians. He said the purchase was necessary in order to avoid losing the fence line and irrigation ditch to white ranchers.

During the following decade conditions at Moapa showed a gradual upswing. Health and population stabilized, and most of the Indians were able to become self-supporting, either by working for the local white communities or by farming their allotments. In 1941, when the original trust grants on their allotments ran out, all of the reservation lands were restored to tribal ownership.⁴⁴ In 1942 the Moapits drew up a constitution and bylaws. The governing body was the Moapa Business Council. The constitution was approved on April 17, 1942.

In 1965 the Indian Claims Commission granted a judgment of \$7,253,165.19 to the Nuwuvi, including those at Moapa. Congress



*Some of the homes at Moapa before the new housing project was begun.
(courtesy National Archives)*

authorized payment of this judgment in 1968, and the Moapa band set out on a period of "significant development":

The recent history and significant development of the tribe began in 1968 when the members refused to renew the ten year lease on their farm land, and rather, set about to develop their own farming cooperative to provide steady year-round job opportunities for their people and a source of revenue for the tribe. Long before the concepts like self-determination and economic independence became so well known, members of the Moapa Paiutes were attempting to put such ideas into practice.

To complement the farm and to provide job opportunities primarily for the women (their unemployment rate was almost 100% and many were on welfare), the full tribal membership in late 1972 voted to develop a leather craft and beading company.

With no funds or buildings available, the tribe looked first to the Nevada Test Site where three government surplus wooden barracks were secured and moved to the reservation - one by one - 140 miles over two lane roads by members of the tribe.

The buildings have been remodeled - two of them now house the Moapa Paiute Handcraft Association which employs some 20

members where various leather and beaded items reflecting the Paiute and other native-American heritages are produced.

. . . Both the Liberty Corporation and the Handcraft Association are completely owned and managed by the tribal membership. Their development has been greatly assisted with EDA (Economic Development) grants and MDTA (Federal Manpower) training programs.

Realizing the importance of education, the tribe was the first in Nevada to have a special summer educational program (1970) and to contract for its own summer education program (1971). By December, 1972, tribal members completed the construction of 32 three bedroom cinder block homes under a HUD grant.

For the future the tribe is attempting to acquire additional land for the farming operation; develop the marketing ability of the Handcraft Association; construct along with additional homes a community-recreational center and an industrial park to take advantage of favorable state tax laws; and in general to continue to develop areas that will lead to greater tribal autonomy and economic independence which in turn will further promote the social and economic growth of tribal members.⁴⁵

The tribe is currently (1975) involved in a major effort to retrieve land taken from the reservation in 1875. The proposed land will greatly increase the reservation's size and give the tribe room for economic expansion. Another major project currently underway is the construction of the community center for which Moapa has received a \$208,000 EDA grant.

Shivwits

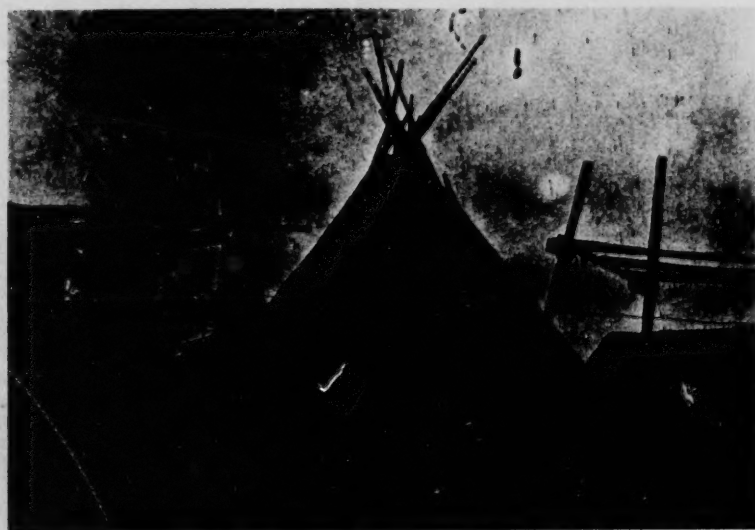
In the twenty years between the early 1870's and 1891, the Nuwuvi who had lived in present-day Washington County in southwestern Utah all but disappeared. In 1873 J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls reported 528 Nuwuvi living in Utah. Many of these Indians lived under the influence of Taugu, a headman who lived at Cedar City. However, Nuwuvi were still spread throughout Southern Utah, and there were many groups who were not under Taugu's influence.¹ Before white settlement, a large number of Nuwuvi had been concentrated in the southwestern part of Utah along the Santa Clara River and the central section of the Virgin River. This area had received the brunt of the massive "Dixie" settlement drive of the Mormons in the 1860's and early 1870's. By the 1870's the Indians in this area were fighting a losing battle trying to survive under the pressure of white settlement. The problem became even more difficult after gold and silver were discovered in the area, and more whites came to work in the mines of Silver Reef and other places.

As has been pointed out, the Nuwuvi were forced to adapt in various ways to the arrival of white settlements. It was impossible for most of them to maintain traditional modes of living on traditional homelands. The process of change was more rapid in the 1870's and 1880's. Nuwuvi could choose either to move further away from the white frontier into areas like the Arizona strip, to try to fight the whites by raiding, or to become more dependent on the white settlements by serving as a labor supply.

Some Nuwuvi did move south and east toward the Colorado and west into the Nevada desert to join bands already there, but most areas had a very limited capacity to support inhabitants. Any newcomers could stretch them beyond that capacity. Others did try to fight the whites, usually by joining Navajo raiding parties during the 1870's, but the Nuwuvi had never liked war and were not particularly successful at it, especially considering their relatively small numbers. They also were not very comfortable with the



The Shivwits Reservation with the Beaver Dam Mountains in the background. Shows some of the rugged country which makes up much of the reservation. (courtesy National Archives)



Tipi at Shivwits. Many Nuwuvi in Utah and Arizona adopted tipis from the Utes in the early 1900's. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)

Navajo, who traditionally were more their enemies than friends. Very few Nuwuvi chose this alternative, although a major uprising almost occurred when a friendly Nuwuvi was killed because he was mistaken for a Navajo. The Nuwuvi asked to have the white man who had committed the murder turned over to them. They were refused, but a serious outbreak was prevented when two horses and some beef were given the dead man's family.²

Most Nuwuvi became dependent on the white settlements. Their hunting and gathering sites were being depleted quickly by overgrazing cattle and their campsites were taken up by white settlements and farms. These conditions, to some extent, caused the Nuwuvi living on the Santa Clara and Virgin to migrate. Many moved to the established colony at Cedar City, where welfare could be received from the Mormon Church. Others moved to the farming communities on the lower Muddy River to work. Many of the young worked in the mining camps to the north. Those who remained primarily were older and dependent on the whites.

The whites took a patronizing attitude, for while they provided the Nuwuvi with some aid, they often chastized them for not being able to provide for themselves. In doing this the whites failed to recognize their own responsibility for Nuwuvi poverty. In 1879 Robert Gardner, bishop of the Mormon Price Ward, located southwest of St. George, addressed "Moqueak and his men," a group of Nuwuvi living near the settlement. His statement shows little awareness that all of the land around St. George had been owned by the Nuwuvi or that the Nuwuvi had used it wisely by farming for decades before white intruders arrived:

Brother McAllister, Brother Snow, and the Big Chief, John Taylor, have bought ten acres of land from the Mormons for \$300.00 on the lower end of our farm, which I will show you, - for the use of the Indians.

I, Bishop of Price Ward, will see that it is plowed, and marked out for watering, and plough out your head-ditches, and let you have the water, through the watermaster.

You may divide the 10 acres with all the Indians that you expect to get land on this farm. You may divide it to suit yourselves, so that it is divided in strips up and down, so that we can plow it. We cannot plow it in little round patches. Or, I will divide it for you if you wish. This is all we expect to do. You must do all the rest

of the work and help on the ditch and dam, and keep your horses off our land. If your horses get on our crops, you must pay the damage, like other Mormons. If our horses, or cattle, destroy your crops, we must pay the damage.

We all feel kindly to you Indians, and we will do you all the good we can. But we have to work hard to get our bread and clothing and teams to work our land; our wives have to work hard; our children have to work hard, and we have no time to work for you, only what you cannot do.

You Indians want a heap of land and have no team nor plows, nor tools, to work with; nor seed to plant. You want us Mormons to do all this for you. We have not time, we must work for our own children. You must do as we do, - take a little land, do a heap of work, and raise more grain.

Now, Moqueak, what I say, I mean, and you need not trouble me anymore, for more land. I know better what is good for you than you do for yourself.³

It is not known what happened to this ten acres provided for the Indians. Apparently though, the land was still being used during the 1880's, for in 1888 the St. George Mormon leadership reported that "We have paid brethren for plowing on the Indian farms."⁴

Although there were some Indians remaining, most of the young and able-bodied continued to move out of the area in search of means of survival. The church appropriated an annual sum through the farms to support the local Indians, but it was based on the idea that the young Nuwuvi were leaving and the old were unable to support themselves. It also failed to consider that many of the Indians still lived in the mountains and came down to the farms only seasonally. When a bad year occurred, more than the normal number crowded onto the farms. Eventually the local leaders had to ask for more help from the Mormon Church. The Church had normally provided an annual appropriation of \$400 for provisions, clothing, and blankets. In one year when cold and snow drove large numbers of Nuwuvi out of the mountains and increased sickness among them, an appropriation of \$600 to \$700 had to be asked for.⁵

This farm must have been closed after the establishment of Shivwits, for there is no record of its existence after the 1880's. The Indians who were moved to the Santa Clara Valley in 1891 were not local Indians, however. They were Shivwits Nuwuvi whose original homeland was in Arizona around the Shivwits Plateau. They

lived as far south as the edge of the canyon of the Colorado and as far north and west as the Virgin River. The Tonoquints and Paroosits, who had been the aboriginal inhabitants of the area in which the Shivwits Reservation was established, either had left the area or practically had disappeared because of disease.

The population of the relatively isolated Shivwits also had been decreased by 1890, but at least one band had managed to survive in the southern end of their territory. John Wesley Powell visited the Shivwits in 1870. He had been informed that they were responsible for the deaths of three of his men who had climbed out of the canyon of the Colorado River while he was descending it. The Indians had killed the men because they believed them to be from a group of miners who had killed one of their women on the east side of the river. They found it impossible to believe that anyone would try to come down by way of the turbulent Colorado River. Powell found the Shivwits to be peaceable and trustworthy when left with the care of his pack train and supplies.⁶

By 1891 Powell was still one of only a handful of white men who had visited the Shivwits Nuwuvi in their natural homeland. It is unfortunate that conditions did not remain that way. By the 1880's the burgeoning ranching interests of southern Utah had begun to spread further and further into the "Arizona strip" north of the Colorado. In the late 1880's Anthony W. Ivins, a prominent Washington County resident, bought the part of the Shivwits Plateau known as Mohave Ranch along with several hundred head of cattle.⁷ The operation was quite successful, and, after a brief change of ownership, Ivins organized a company with relatives as investors and himself as manager.

There was only one problem holding up the complete success of the ranching operation, and in his position as Mayor of St. George, Ivins began to pressure the national government to remove it. That problem was the Shivwits who lived near Ivins' ranch and occasionally raided his cattle. Ivins brought the Indians to the attention of authorities in Washington. He suggested that land on the Santa Clara River be bought for them and that they be removed to that location. Congress appropriated \$40,000 for the purpose, and Ivins was appointed Special Disbursing Agent to spend the money for the Indians' benefit. Ivins purchased and fenced land on the Santa

Clara; moved the Shivwits there; bought teams, wagons, and farming tools; and established a school.⁸

The land was not purchased by the government officially until 1903, when one hundred acres were bought by a Department of the Interior order. In doing this the Secretary of Interior formally established the Shivwits Indian Reservation. The government did little to help the reservation in the decade after the removal of the Shivwits. The only evidence of official interest was the day school. The main problem facing the Nuwuvi was water rights to the Santa Clara River, which already supported a fairly large white population. This situation continued to be a sore point throughout the twentieth century. The government showed its first signs of awareness of the reservation and its inhabitants in 1902 when the United States district attorney for Utah was ordered to defend those water rights.⁹



An early view of the day school and the Snow family home at Shivwits. These are two of the few buildings still standing and being used on the largely abandoned reservation. The day school has also been used as a church and a community center. (courtesy National Archives)

In 1916 President Woodrow Wilson issued an Executive Order expanding the reservation. In that same year, supervision of Shivwits was placed under the Superintendent at Goshute Indian School, located at Deep Creek Reservation. The reservation began to stabilize at this point under the control of the Superintendent of the Shivwits Indian School.

The Nuwuvi living at Shivwits still had a multitude of problems. Their major problem was health and its effect on Nuwuvi population. In 1917 the Superintendent reported that "the general health condition at the school as well as the whole reservation has been poor this year, a great many Indians have complained of rheumatism, colds, lagrippe and especially eye trouble. . . . we have 85% trachoma and we need a special physician."¹⁰ In 1919 he reported that Spanish influenza had claimed the lives of several, and many more were ill from it. There also was still a high percentage of eye disease, leaving many Nuwuvi helpless.¹¹ Two other problems were the constant presence on the reservation of cattle owned by local whites and the conflicts over water.

The lack of irrigated land, added to other problems, forced many Nuwuvi to seek jobs off the reservation. In 1937 Congress enlarged the reservation and provided for a stock driveway across it in a partial attempt to solve some of these problems. The conflicts over water worsened over the years, especially after termination of their special relationship with the government completely removed any Nuwuvi input into determining water rights.

In 1940, the Shivwits band organized under the Indian Reorganization Act, establishing a constitution and by-laws. However, this action did little to improve the Indians' situation. There was little or no shift in responsibility since the Bureau of Indian Affairs had provided them with very few services and even less direction. This fact was part of the strange reverse logic used in the termination proceedings during the early 1950's. Because the Nuwuvi already were receiving a minimal amount of aid from the United States, why not completely end all federal aid? Few stopped to consider that the reason the Nuwuvi were not receiving services was not because they did not need them, but rather because the government had failed to exercise the responsibility owed to them after placing them on reservations.

The background for termination was extensive.¹² Government Indian policy had always hoped to eventually enable the Indian to stand on his own in white society. When he "progressed" to that point, his special connection with the government and the aid that accompanied it could be terminated, or cut off. The Indian Reorganization Act, under which the Shivwits organized, had been understood by its authors as an attempt to make Indian tribes and bands more self-dependent. They thus looked forward to quicker assimilation of the tribes into white society. By the 1950's demand was high enough for Congress to begin termination hearings.

Involved in proceedings besides the Shivwits reservation were all the other reservations in southern Utah that were considered to be Nuwuvi. The one exception was Cedar City Colony, which seems to have been passed over simply because it had always been only nominally under federal control and because it was confused with Indian Peak. This colony consequently retained rights to BIA services. Besides Shivwits, the other reservations which were involved were the Indian Peak Reservation, established by Executive Order on August 2, 1915; the Koosharem Reservation, set aside by an act of March 3, 1928; and the Kanosh Reservation, set aside by an act of February 11, 1929.

In 1947, when Congress was presented with a list of Indian groups who were ready for self-dependence, the Nuwuvi were not even included. When a list again was submitted in 1954, the Shivwits, Koosharem, and Kanosh bands were noted as being unready. The Indian Peak band was considered conditionally ready. When the bills were introduced to terminate individual tribes, however, the first bill called for the termination of the Utah Nuwuvi and Shoshones (located at Skull Valley and Washakie Reservations). The only reason that has been suggested for this inconsistency is the influence of Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. It has been speculated that he sought to use the Indians of his own state as an example to encourage this policy elsewhere.

Congressional hearings reported that an estimated 97 persons in 24 families belonged to the Shivwits band. None of the 24 families were self-supporting; 19 families partially supported themselves but depended on welfare assistance from church and public sources

in varying degrees. The remaining 5 families were totally dependent upon public assistance. Of the 28,160 acres on Shivwits only 85 were considered suitable for homesites and gardening. The only tribal income was \$1,500.00, which was received from the single lease on reservation lands. The average family income was about one third of the estimated income of non-Indian families in the adjacent area. After reporting these conditions, which seem to reflect extreme economic depression among the Shivwits Nuwuvi, the final committee report announced that "there are no special problems anticipated in connection with the termination of special Federal relations."

The report further stated that "the Shivwits Band has requested that the relationship be terminated." No Nuwuvi representative was sent to the hearings, and although several days of hearings were held outside of Washington, D. C., the Nuwuvi were never visited. The only attempts to determine their desires were made at a meeting held by Senator Watkins at Richfield, Utah in December, 1953, with tribal representatives. The Superintendent at Uintah-Ouray, who was nominally in charge of Shivwits, had had some discussion with them. There is no evidence that the Nuwuvi were strongly opposed to ending their Federal relationship, but there is also little evidence that they understood what its implications were. They may have felt that because the federal government provided them with so little, it wouldn't matter if all aid were cut off. There is some evidence that they didn't expect to be responsible for taxes on their land.

Congress failed in its responsibility to be sure that the Nuwuvi were ready to be cut off and also agreeable to it, based on full and accurate information. President Eisenhower signed the bill on September 1, 1954. "The Nuwuvi lack of education, their low income, the inept handling of their resources, and the fact that the final termination law (Public Law 83-762) provided that they be given instruction in English and special education to help them earn a livelihood and conduct their own affairs all testify that they were not ready for termination."

The final termination date was February 21, 1957. Tribal lands were placed under the control of Walker Bank & Trust Company in Salt Lake City through a three-year trusteeship set up by the Secretary of Interior. The Indians retained subsurface rights for ten

years. Federal indebtedness was cancelled, but tribal lands were subject to taxation. Tribal governments which were set up under the I. R. A. were revoked. The Nuwuvi immediately felt the effects of abandonment. Salt Lake City was so far away that it was impossible for them to keep any regular contact with their trust officers. When they managed to get to the city, they often found it difficult to get in to see them. The trustees continually made arrangements for the use of former reservation lands without consulting the Indians. The lands were leased, for example, without tribal consent. Most Shivwits Nuwuvi abandoned the reservation and sought support and employment in white communities.

As of 1975 there are only three families living at Shivwits. One family can't even get a power hook-up despite repeated attempts and a power line which passes within fifty yards of their home. The land is still leased by Walker Bank, and after taxes, almost nothing is left for distribution among the Nuwuvi. Most of the former reservation inhabitants have moved into surrounding towns or out of the area. Those who live in the local towns often are segregated, and their average income remains far below that of the non-Indian population. Many have come to realize that termination did not mean that Nuwuvi would have an equal chance in white society.

The four terminated bands in cooperation with the Cedar City band have initiated an effort to reestablish their trust relationship with the federal government. Each band would be reestablished on trust land and enjoy the services provided to all reservation Indians. This reinstatement requires Congressional approval, and it is hoped that today's Congressmen can recognize and help correct the tragic errors of a past Congress.

Las Vegas

During the late 1800's and early 1900's when the Moapa Reservation was steeped in mis-management and corruption, the Nuwuvi of southern Nevada were forced to look elsewhere for a home. All inspections at Moapa during this time reported that there were never more than a few Indians there and normally there were none. Mis-management had so well prevented the Nuwuvi from making a living that, in order to survive, they had to seek employment from the white settlers who were intruders on their land. Consequently, Indian colonies attached themselves to settlements in the lower Muddy Valley, in the upper Meadow Valley, and at Las Vegas, all of which were areas they had lived in before the whites came. At these places the Nuwuvi provided a cheap labor supply to the farmers and miners who had no more objection to stealing Nuwuvi labor than they had to stealing Nuwuvi land.

Las Vegas always had been used and often occupied by various different Nuwuvi bands. The Pegesits band had been the most common residents because they lived in the immediately surrounding area. Las Vegas also had been the site of considerable conflict with whites on the Old Spanish Trail. It was centrally located in the middle of the desert and in the path of routes running between other springs and favorite hunting and gathering spots. It was consequently of vital strategic importance to Nuwuvi on the move and was also very important to any whites traveling through the area. The early Spanish and Mexicans using the Spanish Trail made the area a major stopover. There is some evidence that the Spanish established a semi-permanent ranch there and even employed Nuwuvi labor. At this time, most of the Nuwuvi lived in Las Vegas Wash, although they camped throughout the area at the multiple springs.

When the Mormons settled there in 1855, the Nuwuvi already had been forced to abandon the area to some extent because of slaving caravans and other overly aggressive whites. The Mormon settlement was a final blow which the Nuwuvi refused to tolerate, not only because it deprived them of Las Vegas, but also because it affected

their access to long-used surrounding homelands like Tule Springs, Good Spring, Red Rock Canyon, Indian Springs, and Mt. Charleston. So by 1857 Nuwuvi resistance was strong enough to force the Mormons to leave.¹

The area was largely returned to Nuwuvi control, but a few whites did continue to live at Las Vegas following the Mormon departure. These few ranches provided some employment, and as the white population slowly grew, more and more Nuwuvi settled there in search of work. Those who came from the Moapa Valley were added to the Pegesits who already lived in the southwestern section of Nevada surrounding Las Vegas. Other groups of Nuwuvi moved up gradually from the mining settlements near the Colorado River in extreme southern Nevada. The Chemehuevis were a Nuwuvi-speaking group who had moved south of the Mohave Indians in the early nineteenth century. Before this move they may have occupied areas as far north as Las Vegas. They had extended contacts in the area and with the Nuwuvi who lived there and consequently were not strangers when they joined the other Nuwuvi groups at Las Vegas.

As the mines in southern Nevada closed, more Nuwuvi went north. Many could not find a place to stay. There was not enough land at the various springs to support everyone, and the land at Las Vegas by the turn of the century was mostly taken by whites. In 1911 Helen J. Stewart, a local white, provided the Indians with a ten-acre lot by selling the land to the United States for \$500, with the stipulation that it be placed in trust for all the Indians of Southern Nevada.² The purpose of this purchase was to provide land to establish a day school and to furnish homes for the Indian laborers working in and around Las Vegas. The land was located slightly out of town on the north.

In 1912 E. G. Murtaugh, Moapa Superintendent and Physician, moved his headquarters to Las Vegas in order to be more centralized in serving all of the Indians of southern Nevada. He also hoped to put the Las Vegas Day School into operation. However, when the Supervisor of Indian Schools visited in 1913, he found that the school already had been abandoned and that the fifty or so Indians who had been occupying the land had left to camp nearer town. He

recommended that the Indians and Murtaugh's agency be returned to Moapa.³

The government, in typically slow fashion, waited until 1918 when the new Superintendent and Physician, L. B. Sandall, again recommended the return to Moapa. Sandall reported that all the land in and around Las Vegas was owned by the whites.⁴ He appeared to be strangely ignorant of the ten-acre plot. His recommendation was accepted, and by the end of the year Sandall was trying to find out the status of the over 200 Indians centered at Las Vegas. He wanted to know whether or not they were wards of the government.⁵ Rather than make a decision, the government found it easier to ignore their existence once the agency was returned to Moapa. The Nuwuvi at Las Vegas went on living and making do by themselves as they had for years. The Moapa Superintendent was forced to determine their status on his own. In 1919 he reported that many Nuwuvi used the Las Vegas colony as their headquarters and that some lived there. He then succeeded in proving they were wards of the government by having Will Lightfoot convicted for selling liquor to them.⁶

In 1926 he reported that there were approximately fifty Indians who made the small reserve their "headquarters." Without tillable land they supported themselves through labor in and around Las Vegas. Most of the women were involved in domestic work while most of the men worked on ranches. The reservation was used regularly by Indians from throughout the surrounding country while visiting Las Vegas, so it had "a very fluctuating population." Since it was located so close to the county seat, Las Vegas, the county provided supervision for problems of law and order.⁷

Supervision of the Las Vegas Nuwuvi by the government was almost nonexistent during the twenties and thirties. The Nuwuvi continued to survive with little or no help from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Many of the residents were extremely poor. They were often only able to find jobs irregularly at best. Government officials at Moapa were too far away to be of much help. The colony itself was little more than a camp with homes arranged irregularly, no roads, inadequate water supply, and no utilities of any kind. Without money the Nuwuvi were in no position to



A Nuwuvi family camped near Las Vegas. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)



Left to right, Veno, Beppo, and Harriet on one of the several ranches in Southern Nevada which employed Nuwuvi in the early 1900's. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)



A Nuwuvi brush shelter near Las Vegas in 1907. Such simple "summer homes" were used by the Nuwuvi well into the twentieth century. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)



Daisy Smith, one of the Indians employed by Helen Stewart. Mrs. Stewart sold the Las Vegas colony to the government in order to provide a home for the Las Vegas Nuwuvi. In doing so she wished to show her appreciation for those who had worked for her.



Left to right, Ilce Morfy Castillo, Imogene Domingo, and Beatrice Domingo of Las Vegas. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)

improve these conditions on their own, and as long as the government refused to take action, the situation looked pretty hopeless.

In the late 1930's funds from the government finally were available for an Indian rehabilitation program. E. A. Farrow, Superintendent of the Paiute Agency at Cedar City, who had general responsibility for the Las Vegas Colony, recommended a plan for rearranging and beautifying it. He proposed "making roads and streets, moving the houses onto regular lines, making a plaza in the center of the inhabited portion, constructing a bathing pool and planting trees." Water was to be supplied from flowing wells.⁸

Although the beautification proposal was in many ways a worthwhile idea, it was also a rather superficial method of dealing with the more basic problems of survival that confronted the Las Vegas Nuwuvi. A plaza, a bathing pool, and trees were unlikely to significantly benefit the Indians. The shortage of funds for any colony projects suggested that what funds there were should be used to create more definite and permanent benefits. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggested to Farrow that he substitute an irrigation reservoir for his beautification project. The reservoir would allow the Nuwuvi to grow vegetable gardens and thereby raise a portion of their food.⁹

A well was drilled, the reservoir was built, and ground was leveled for the gardens. The Nuwuvi were quite happy to finally be able to do something positive with their land. Kenneth Anderson, present Las Vegas Chairman, recalled that "There was plenty of water; we planted beans and other things. There were grapes, too. I was raised on beans. They planted cottonwoods by putting poles in the ground - a whole row."¹⁰

It was obvious, however, that the physical condition of the colony still needed a lot of work. Roads and home repairs were especially needed. The beautification proposal which had originally been created by Farrow and Carl Henry of the Las Vegas Nuwuvi was kept under consideration in hopes that funds would come along. The Las Vegas Junior Chamber of Commerce involved themselves in the discussion by proposing that new housing, combined with a gateway sign, be built in order to attract tourists to the colony.¹¹ Farrow responded that while new housing was a worthwhile idea if

funds could be found, he did not consider it a good idea to exploit the Indians by attracting tourists to the reserve.¹²

Despite the continuous discussion of alternatives, money was never available and nothing was done to improve the colony. The following years repeated the earlier pattern of neglect: "At this time, the reservation was a sore spot - just a place to live, . . . the BIA didn't do much. People went to work and provided for themselves."¹³ In 1945 the well feeding the irrigation reservoir dried up.¹⁴

By 1953 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was giving serious consideration to selling the colony and relocating the Nuwuvi. Government officials even wrote to a trucking company next door asking for an estimate of the land's value in the event it was for sale.¹⁵ The company responded with an offer to buy a portion of the colony.¹⁶ The BIA, because of budget limitations, had been unable since 1945 to make any repairs on the water system at Las Vegas, and water and sanitary conditions reflected this fact.¹⁷ Out of concern for these and other conditions at the colony, the Clark County Council of Social Agencies began active discussions with the BIA over the possibility of selling the land.

There were two major stumbling blocks in the way of the proposed sale. The Indians did not want to move, and there was a serious question whether the United States could give a clear title to the purchaser.¹⁸ The original purchase of the land from Helen Stewart had stated clearly that it was only to be used by the Indians of Southern Nevada. Nevertheless selling the land continued to be basic government policy for several years. Hope was kept alive that sometime in the future an adequate means would be found to accomplish this goal.

After investigation in 1958 it was proposed that the Secretary of the Interior sell the land, with the exception of the colony cemetery which would be turned over to Las Vegas city for protection and maintenance. The Nuwuvi would then be relocated in "suitable single family housing." Several of the Nuwuvi objected to the idea and expressed a strong desire to remain where they were. After considering concentrating those who objected on a smaller piece of land, the BIA inspector rejected Nuwuvi objections because of possible negative effects on the land value. He felt that any remaining portion of the colony would lower the price the government

could get by limiting the amount of land that could be sold and the amount of access to the nearby Union Pacific railroad line.¹⁹ The government still did not act immediately and the land remained unsold.

By 1960 discussions of selling the land were centered around the old problem of road access to the colony. The BIA considered working out a land transfer with the next door trucking company which would give the colony road access to nearby Main Street. The access road would have increased the land value of the colony from approximately \$2,500 an acre to at least \$6,000 an acre. The Nuwuvi could then be terminated and their land sold.²⁰

The problem which meanwhile continued to be of most concern to the Nuwuvi was the lack of adequate water supplies and sanitary facilities at the colony. In May, 1961, a meeting was held between representatives of the colony, the federal government, and the city at which it was decided to apply to the government for financial aid to install water and sewer facilities. The Nuwuvi made serious objections to moving from their colony at this meeting. They made it clear that they were more interested in improving their present homes and in having water and electric utilities installed.²¹

Those facilities were still slow in coming. Electrical power and telephone service did not reach the colony until 1965. That year was important to the Nuwuvi of Las Vegas for other reasons as well. That year the Indian Claims Commission made its final decision on the Nuwuvi claim.²² One unexpected repercussion of this decision was a revival of the proposal to relocate the Las Vegas Nuwuvi and sell their colony. The claims decision had led to government confusion over who exactly was eligible to receive a portion of the claims payment as a member of the Las Vegas band. Membership rolls had not been formally kept for many years. The only lists of membership were informal "residency rolls." When these lists were examined, it was found that many of the people listed were either not Nuwuvi or were eligible for claims payment at other reservations such as Moapa.

A further problem arose over what exactly the Las Vegas band was. The Nuwuvi there were unorganized. There was no operational government. BIA officials proposed to sell the colony for \$40,000 and to use this money along with the Las Vegas band portion of the

claims settlement to relocate the Nuwuvi.²³ The Nuwuvi instead decided to take the situation into their own hands by organizing a binding government. They drew up a proposed government with a constitution and by-laws. The plan was approved by the Secretary of Interior in 1970. The government consists of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and four board members.²⁴

The primary conflict in recent years at the colony has been over providing government-built housing similar to that provided at Moapa. Part of the problem revolves around the rights of the Chemehuevis at Las Vegas. They have lived alongside the other Nuwuvi for as long as most remember, but they are accused of belonging at Parker and Chemehuevi Valley, Arizona, with the Chemehuevis who live there.

While trying to modernize their colony, the Las Vegas Nuwuvi have also tried to preserve their traditions. Near Las Vegas toward Sunrise Mountain is a place which is very sacred to all of the Nuwuvi. It is called Music Cave, and it is there that Nuwuvi doctors and storytellers go to learn from Shinau-av all those things they need to know. The cave has been destroyed by non-Indians, but its importance in Nuwuvi tradition has not been lost. It is

Big and black inside, where the one to receive information must go alone, seeing nothing—no light of any kind to guide him. He must find his way in the dark and make his bed and sleep. As he slept Shinau-av would visit him and tell the things he wanted his people to know; what medicine to make to cure different ailments, and where to find the herbs to make the medicine. Shinau-av would tell him all about the tribal stories and beliefs. As he slept he would hear music, the tunes and songs of the Pah-Ute Tribe which he must carry back to his people.²⁵

Cedar City

The Kumoits or Wahn-kwits, now known as the Cedar Indians, once claimed as their homeland Cedar Canyon and all the valley into which Coal Creek flowed.¹ The history of how this land was lost has been told in the chapters concerning early relations with the United States and the Mormons. As the town of Cedar gradually expanded, the land of the Cedar Nuwuvi was reduced finally to a small tract of land on Coal Creek near the foothills and almost at the mouth of Cedar Canyon. Here the Nuwuvi had a small village and lived in tepees and kanees. They also farmed, though on a much smaller scale than when their farms lined the banks of the creek.²

The Cedar Nuwuvi were largely ignored by the government. The Mormon Church in many ways played the role usually assumed by the BIA with its agency-reservation system. The Cedar Nuwuvi were supposedly under the agency at Moapa when it was established, but no aid was given to them. After Moapa's size was reduced in 1875, the agent there no longer supervised the Utah Nuwuvi. After Shivwits and Kaibab Reservations were established nearer to Cedar City, there is no indication that the government representatives there tried to supervise the Cedar Indians too. The Cedar Nuwuvi were unsupervised until 1916 when an agency was organized at Goshute. The agent's reports indicate that Cedar was under his jurisdiction. Considering the distance from Goshute to Cedar, it is not surprising that little mention is made of the Cedar Indians.

In 1917 the superintendent at Goshute did report that "lands on which the Indians live at Cedar City have been set aside by the Mormon Church and the town of Cedar. A very small area." The agent also remarked that "there are a number of children here [at Goshute], and [they] are well cared for, but I noticed at Indian Peaks there were no infants - all dying in infancy, the same at Kanosh and Cedar City and other small places." During the years of 1917 and 1918 there was a flu epidemic which may have caused the high mortality rate noticed by the Goshute agent. He reported that many Indian Peaks people had died and stressed the need for a physician

at Cedar City.³ Though health conditions at the Cedar Colony were poor and the people were in need of seeds and farming implements, the Goshute agency did little to help them. It was just too far away.

In 1919 the Goshute agent made a more lengthy report on the Cedar Colony, saying that they lived on a five and one-half acre plot just outside the city. The land was "purchased and held in trust for them by the Mormon Church. They also used part of an eighty acre area owned by a Mr. Bullock. Bullock, however, had given the tract to his son who was going to take possession, thus reducing the Nuwuvi land to five and one-half acres. The agent recommended that from 40 to 80 acres of land be purchased for the Cedar Nuwuvi. He also suggested that the five and one-half acre tract be purchased since "an official of this church assured me they were willing to transfer this tract, now quite valuable, to the Government, to hold in trust for this band, so long as it may think proper."

The Goshute agent reported that the whites in Cedar City praised the Nuwuvi highly. They said that they were industrious and sober. The agent himself observed that they had planted several acres of alfalfa and had purchased a mower. He said that the Nuwuvi appeared to be in good health. He recommended that eight cottages be built and that the Nuwuvi homes be connected with the city water mains. The Nuwuvi told the agent that they were "attached to this spot and declared their desire to live and die there, where the bones of their ancestors rest."⁴

Apparently none of the agent's recommendations were acted upon. The government did not set aside land for the Cedar Nuwuvi even though money was twice appropriated, once in 1899 and again in 1925. They were not given a secure land base. Instead in 1925 they were moved down the river a short distance by the Mormon Church which had purchased land for them.

The government had gone ahead with its plans to buy land for the Nuwuvi on the assumption that the Mormon Church (who owned at least part of the land being considered) was willing to cooperate. However, the government was rather slow to act. Leaders of the Church in Cedar City apparently either misunderstood the government's intentions or became convinced that the government was going to do nothing. The Mormons decided to acquire land for the Nuwuvi on their own. They complained that despite their efforts



A Nuwuvi family in front of their home at Cedar City. (courtesy National Archives)



Josephine Pete of Cedar City. Notice the traditional twined and buckskin covered cradle board. (courtesy University of Nevada at Las Vegas)

to get the government to act, the authorities were only willing to have the Indians "go to some Indian reservation, this being against the desires of the Indians."⁵

The government was actually planning on purchasing land in Cedar City. On May 15, 1925, *The Iron County Record* carried an article by William Palmer stating that the government had refused to do anything for the Nuwuvi because they were a roving band and could be helped only by being moved to a reservation like Indian Peak.⁶ Palmer wrote this over two months after Congress had authorized an appropriation of \$1,275 on March 2, 1925 for the purchase of nine lots in Cedar City for the Nuwuvi.⁷ It is not clear whether or not Palmer and the other Mormons were aware of this fact. The money was not actually appropriated for another year.

The Mormon Church went ahead with their plans, and Palmer reported that "With a view of making the Indians self sustaining a little farm has been purchased, and a workshop, together with sufficient homes to house the families is in the course of erection."⁸ The Superintendent of Kaibab Agency, upon discovering the Mormon purchase, recommended that the government take no further action in the matter. The \$1,275 was placed in surplus, and no land was purchased by the government. This action left the Cedar Nuwuvi without any land, because what they were living on belonged to the Mormon Church. In later years this situation led to questions about their status in relation to the government.

For a short time in the late 1920's and 30's the Paiute Agency was located at Cedar City under E. A. Farrow, Superintendent and Physician. This was the only time the Cedar Nuwuvi had direct federal supervision. In the long run it did little to improve their situation.

In 1954 the other Nuwuvi bands in Utah were terminated, but the Cedar City band was not. Confusion about their status meant that the Cedar Nuwuvi were overlooked. They had no federal trust land and had not been receiving BIA services. Because many of the Indian Peak Nuwuvi were living at Cedar City by the 1950's, the government assumed they were the same band. When the Indian Peak band was terminated, the separate status of the Cedar band was overlooked.

This confusion continued into the 1960's:

The Cedar City Paiutes should have been included with the Indian Peak Paiutes. They were not so they were not terminated. They thought they were terminated and so did everyone else [after 1956] they missed all services from BIA. Someone in the Washington office was checking the names of terminated Paiutes and noted that the names of the Cedar City Paiutes were not on the terminated roll. At that time the BIA began services again. . . . Insofar as we are able we (BIA) provide these services: Indian preference in BIA employment, scholarships beyond High School, BIA Boarding School, and whatever General Assistance the BIA can provide. They also are eligible for Public Health Services like all recognized Indians.⁹

These services are minimal, and Nuwuvi at Cedar City say that they have had difficulty getting even them. Some Nuwuvi (including the present band chairman) tried but failed to get scholarships. Using the Public Health Service means going a long way to Nevada, Arizona, or Northern Utah. The Nuwuvi receive more aid from the Mormon Church, which gives the needy welfare assistance in return for a small amount of labor. The Cedar City band has joined with the terminated Nuwuvi in their effort to be reinstated. Through this effort the Cedar Nuwuvi hope to force the government to give them full services. They also hope to receive federal trust land of their own when the other bands are reinstated to their reservations.

Some of the people now living at the Cedar Colony moved there from Indian Peak. Because Indian Peak Nuwuvi were among those who were terminated, their land was subject to taxation. Being unable to pay these taxes, the people had to sell their beautiful and valuable home lands. Former Indian Peak Nuwuvi now living at the Cedar Colony remember with sadness, if not bitterness, the loss of this land. They have fond memories of the life they led before the whites interfered. They remember that "All the Indians had plenty to eat then. . . . They were raising potatoes, everything, onions down there. . . . There was no government bothering us then."¹⁰

In 1971 the Cedar City Nuwuvi received their share of the land claims settlement. Ninety-two adults of the Cedar City band received \$7,522 each. In 1973 the Utah Nuwuvi received a \$491,999 grant from the federal government for the purpose of building multipurpose complexes to be used, in part, as industrial centers at Cedar City, Richfield and Kanosh. The buildings were part of the Economic

Development Agency's Public Works Impact Project, a program in Southern Utah to provide training and jobs. The Nuwuvi were to be in complete control of these complexes. They were designed to be central meeting places and job training centers. They also were to have areas for the display and sale of beadwork, leatherwork and other products made by the Nuwuvi. The Cedar City band has established a construction company in the complex on their colony. It was hoped that these complexes would help make up for the loss in economic status that had resulted from termination. Effort is still being made to bring them into full operation.

The Cedar City Nuwuvi still keep the traditions of their ancestors. They make beautiful cradle boards and intricate bead, feather, and leatherwork, including dance costumes, moccasins, gloves and vests. Traditional stories still are told. One story is about a hill near Cedar City where there is a pool in which water babies live. At night, the water babies cry out; they cry to call the Indian babies to come into the water with them. The Indians can't go there because of the water babies. The Sundance is still performed when a Nuwuvi becomes a man. The Sun God blesses the dancer with manhood. Those who participate cannot eat or drink water. Sometimes the dance lasts for a week.

The Cedar City Nuwuvi continue to live in the valley around Coal Creek, where they have lived since long before Escalante found them there in 1776. The white man arrived and their lives came under his control. In Cedar City that control most strongly was represented by the Mormon Church, a fact which has made it easier for the Cedar Nuwuvi to be ignored by the federal government. For many years the Nuwuvi continued to farm in their old traditional manner along the Coal Creek bottomlands even though this process came under the control of Mormon representatives. The expansion of Cedar City finally made farming impractical. After being moved by local community leaders, the Nuwuvi colony has become isolated from the view and contact of most Cedar City residents and visitors. Yet the Nuwuvi cling to their self-respect and their traditions. Clifford Jake, an Indian Peak Nuwuvi who now lives at Cedar City, expresses this feeling well:

It don't matter how you talk, what you do, if you're a Paiute you should be proud of it. . . . I'm a Paiute Indian and I'm proud of it.

Always been proud of my heritage. I just don't want to see it fade away, die in the shadow." ¹¹

All Nuwuvi are aware of their heritage and their connection to the land. It is a land of many contrasts. The Nuwuvi roamed in lush mountain forests and in barren desert valleys. They respect the beauty and power of their land. They have known how to live with it and how to obtain what they need from it despite scarcity. They know that they had lived where they now live for years before the white man came. They saw him come. They saw him become dominant. Who knows? They may see him leave, thereby leaving the Nuwuvi once again to their home and their ancient, peaceful ways.



This old Paiute couple was photographed on their doorstep in the early 1900's. They were old enough to have seen the first white settlements on their lands and the penning of their people on reservations. (courtesy National Archives)

"The Flood"*

The waters of the Sea were angry and rolled in great waves over the land and destroyed it. Tobats (Little Rabbit) and the Shinau-av brothers fled to the top of a high mountain. The brothers dared not drink of the water because it was angry and was about to die. Tobats, who was wiser, drank as much as he wished. He tried to reassure his companions, and at last talked them into going down to the edge of the water to drink. As they came near, a great wave rolled up as if to swallow them. They ran back screaming with terror. Then Tobats shot an arrow into the water and burst it into pieces. The fragments flew high into the heavens and came down in torrents of rain all over the world. Since then, whenever the sea gets mad and its waves begin to roll, Tobats shoots an arrow. This prevents it from flooding the land and drives it back so that it goes up the side of the sky, and falls down on the land, when we have rain.

The waters during this great flood killed every tree and every shrub and all the grass. There was nothing left to eat, and the Shinau-av brothers were about to die with hunger. Then Tobats took them to a great rock and pointed to a little hole beneath, and told them to dig there and see what they could find. They worked until they were very tired and found nothing. Then they said to each other, "Tobats has fooled us," and they stopped working.

When Tobats returned and found that they had gone away, he called them back and scolded them for their laziness. He ran into the hole, and as he went the hole opened up in front of him. They all entered a vast chamber and found a fresh store of seeds.

When they had eaten until they were full, they took the seeds and scattered them over the earth, and the land was recovered with vegetation.

* Op. Cit., Powell, "Ute and Paiute Legends."

Appendix A

Chronology

- 1700's Eastern bands of San Juan Nuwuvi make the first Nuwuvi contacts with Spanish in New Mexico.
- 1776 The Escalante-Dominguez Expedition become the first whites to enter Nuwuvi territory.
- 1776 Francisco Garcés meets the Chemehuevi along the lower Colorado River and in Southern Nevada.
- 1800(ca.) Spanish slave and fur trades begin to expand into Utah.
- 1812 The Spanish slave trade is outlawed, but the law is widely ignored.
- 1813 The Arze-Garcia trading expedition penetrates Utah as far as the Sevier River. The men are tried in New Mexico for trading slaves with the Utes.
- 1826-1827 Jedediah Smith makes two journeys through Nuwuvi territory where he observes farming.
- 1826 James Ohio Pattie spreads hostilities throughout the Indian tribes occupying the banks of the Colorado. Pattie kills sixteen Mohaves and an indefinite number of Indians he calls Shuena who are probably Nuwuvi.
- 1829 Antonio Armijo pioneers a shortened version of the Spanish Trail, encountering Nuwuvi along the Colorado River and Las Vegas Wash.
- 1830 William Wolfskill and George C. Yount pioneer the Spanish Trail through the heart of Nuwuvi country.
- 1830-1850 Travel is heavy on the Spanish Trail between New Mexico and California. Trade with the Indians in-

- cluding slaves shows a marked upswing. Nuwuvi abandon some of their farms.
- 1830-1855 Horseraiding on California herds becomes part of Spanish Trail commerce. Some Nuwuvi take part.
- 1844 John C. Fremont leads the first American military party across Nuwuvi land, having minor conflicts with the Nuwuvi along the way.
- late 1840's Kit Carson is a dispatch bearer on the Spanish Trail, regularly passing through Nuwuvi territory where he and the Indians conflict.
- 1847 The first members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) arrive in Salt Lake Valley.
- 1848-1849 Heavy emigrant travel toward the California Gold Rush begins on the Spanish Trail.
- 1849 Mormon exploring expedition examines Nuwuvi lands in Southern Utah in search of good settlement sites. The Nuwuvi welcome them.
- 1850-1851 First Mormon settlers come south and settle in Cedar and Little Salt Lake Valleys. They begin to buy children, following the pattern of the Spanish and Utes who have in the previous years severely reduced Nuwuvi population.
- 1851 Brigham Young, ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Utah Territory, divides Indian affairs into three agencies, including one at Parowan which never operated successfully.
- 1851-1852 New Mexicans under Pedro Leon arrested and tried for participating in the slave trade.
- 1852 Two Nuwuvi killed while trying to escape from Parowan after a stock theft. This is the first serious hostility between the settlers and the Nuwuvi.

- 1852 Utah Territorial Legislature legalizes indentured servitude of "Indian prisoners, children, or women," thereby effectively stopping the Mexican slave trade by shifting it to the local white settlers.
- 1853 A group of New Mexicans under Dr. Bowman enters Utah to trade illegally for slaves.
- 1853 Brigham Young issues a proclamation ordering the arrest of any "strolling Mexicans" trying to trade arms and ammunition to Indians in return for slaves.
- 1853 Large herds of stock are moved across the Spanish Trail towards the growing population of California, damaging Nuwuvi lands and arousing Nuwuvi anger. Major conflict threatens to break out.
- 1854 The Southern Indian Mission is sent to Ft. Harmony by the Mormon church to work among the Nuwuvi.
- 1854 Nuwuvi leaders, Toquer and Tutsegavit, in alliance with Utes threaten to chase the missionaries off their land.
- 1855 Ute slaveraider, Wakara, dies. In a vicious reminder of slavery, four Nuwuvi slaves are killed at his funeral.
- 1855 Lt. Sylvester Mowry reports that the Nuwuvi are becoming increasingly hostile towards emigrants crossing their land and that the Mormons are encouraging this attitude.
- 1855 Mormon church sends Indian mission to Las Vegas. The missionaries find that the Nuwuvi, who have been reported as extremely hostile towards whites, are actually quite friendly.
- 1855-1856 Mormon missionaries build a fort and dam on the Santa Clara with the reluctant help of local Nuwuvi. Nuwuvi claim that the river will dry up and it does.
- 1856 Warfare breaks out temporarily between the Santa Clara and the Moapa Nuwuvi.

- 1856 Las Vegas mission abandoned because of internal conflicts combined with conflicts with the Nuwuvi.
- 1856-1857 George W. Armstrong, Indian agent, makes first contacts with the Nuwuvi. He reports on their great industry in farming.
- 1857 Tutsegavit and eleven other Nuwuvi and Pahvant headmen visit Brigham Young in Salt Lake City.
- 1857 A party of emigrants is massacred at Mountain Meadows by local Mormons in alliance with Nuwuvi.
- 1857-1858 Tensions lead to sporadic fighting and attacks among the whites and Indians along the southern trail to California.
- 1858 Jacob Hamblin announces that the Southern Indian Mission is redirecting its efforts towards the Hopi and Navajo because of lack of success with the Nuwuvi.
- 1858 Settlement established at El Dorado Canyon on the Colorado River leads to a mining strike and an influx of miners into the southern end of Nuwuvi territory.
- 1859-1860 Nuwuvi are reported to be still hostile. Minor conflicts happen frequently.
- 1861 Nevada Territory separated from Utah.
- 1860's(early) White settlement of Southern Utah and Nevada grows rapidly.
- 1864-1865 Serious hostilities break out in Nevada at Meadow Valley and Muddy Valley in reaction to the mining and Mormon settlements in those areas. Tensions are also aroused around the new settlements in Washington County, Utah.
- 1865 Thomas C. W. Sale sent south as Indian agent to try to ease tensions. O. H. Irish, Utah Indian Superintendent, recommends the establishment of an agency for the Nuwuvi. Sale's efforts are not completely success-

- ful. Especially after he helps expand mining into Pahrangat Valley, raiding continues.
- 1865 O. H. Irish negotiates a treaty with several Nuwuvi at Pinto, Utah, which calls for the removal of all Nuwuvi to the Uintah Reservation in northern Utah. Treaty goes unratified by Congress.
- 1866 Seven Nuwuvi massacred near Pipe Springs, Arizona in revenge for a Navajo raid.
- 1860's(late) Some Nuwuvi join Blackhawk's band in raiding the white settlements.
- 1869 R. N. Fenton is appointed the first Indian Agent for the Nuwuvi. Agency is first located at St. Thomas and then at Pioche.
- 1870 John Wesley Powell visits the Nuwuvi who live in northern Arizona, including the Shivwits.
- 1871 Mormon settlers of southern Nevada move back to Utah, increasing hostilities among the Nuwuvi who had come to be dependent on the settlements after losing their best land.
- 1872 G. W. Ingalls, the third agent of the Southeast Nevada Indian Agency, follows precedent of his two predecessors by recommending a reservation for the Nuwuvi in Moapa Valley.
- 18/3 President U. S. Grant issues an executive order setting aside 3900 square miles in Southern Nevada for a reservation for the Nuwuvi.
- 1873 J. W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls report on the condition of the Nuwuvi. They report that the Nuwuvi refuse to go to the Uintah Reservation and recommend that all of them be moved to the new Moapa Reservation.
- 1874 A new executive order expands the Moapa Reservation while conflict is building over white settlers still occupying part of the reservation.

- 1875 Congress orders that the Moapa Reservation be reduced to 1,000 acres. This is done.
- 1875 A. J. Barnes, the agent at Moapa, is appointed to the Nevada Indian Agency. The Southeast Nevada Agency is incorporated into this agency, and the Nuwuvi are left under the control of a farmer-in-charge.
- 1870's(late) By this time, the Moapa Reservation is being exploited for personal use by employees and local whites. The resident Nuwuvi are leaving.
- 1877 Barnes recommends that the Moapa Nuwuvi be removed to Walker River and Pyramid Lake Reservations in northern Nevada.
- 1879 St. George Mormons buy ten acres of land south of St. George to provide small farms for the local Nuwuvi.
- 1879 A new farmer-in-charge, W. R. Bradfute, is appointed to stop corruption at Moapa.
- 1880 James E. Spencer, Nevada Indian Agent, goes to Moapa to inspect. He reports that it is in terrible condition and that there are no Indians living on it. He asks the government to expand and protect the reservation.
- 1880's(early) Moapa is again ignored by the government and at the mercy of corrupt whites.
- 1881 The Public Survey reaches Moapa and moves the reservation one-half mile northwest from where it had been surveyed.
- 1885 Nevada Agent W. D. C. Gibson reports only 24 Indians living at Moapa and recommends that it be closed down.
- 1880's(late) White-owned stock interests begin to move south into the Arizona strip threatening the last enclave of the Shivwits Nuwuvi on the Shivwits Plateau.

- 1887 Special Indian Agent H. S. Welton is sent to Moapa to investigate charges of corruption against W. R. Bradfute and to close down the reservation's agency affairs.
- 1888 Welton reports that after he fired Bradfute, who had been leasing out reservation stock and land to local whites, 185 Nuwuvi returned to the reservation. He reports agency affairs to be closed up and that the Indians have chosen L. G. Harris, a local white, as their trustee.
- 1890(ca.) A. W. Ivins buys an interest in Shivwits Plateau and after launching a ranching operation, recommends that the government remove the Shivwits Nuwuvi to the vicinity of the Santa Clara River.
- 1891 Congress appropriates money to purchase land on the Santa Clara River. Ivins buys such land and the Shivwits are removed to it.
- 1895 L. G. Harris finds out about the boundary conflict which had resulted from the 1881 survey. He and his partner buy the disputed land.
- 1899 Funds are appropriated by Congress for the purchase of land for the Cedar City Nuwuvi. The land is not bought.
- 1900 An inspection finds that L. G. Harris has occupied the government buildings and dispossessed the Indians at Moapa.
- 1902 A new survey of the reservation finds the first survey of the area to be correct and the public survey to be mistaken.
- 1902 W. C. Sharp is appointed as Industrial Teacher in Charge in government attempt to again take charge of Moapa Affairs.
- 1903 Inspection report recommends that Harris be run out of the country. Harris leaves, but the Department of

- Interior decides to accept the 1881 public survey. President Theodore Roosevelt then adds 103.28 acres to the reservation.
- 1903 Secretary of the Interior formally establishes the Shivwits Reservation.
- 1904 School opens at Moapa.
- 1906 W. C. Sharp reports a declining population of 129 at Moapa, most of whom have been leaving the reservation to seek employment with the growing settlements down the valley. He also reports much disease among the Indians.
- 1911 The United States buys a ten acre lot from Helen J. Stewart for the growing group of Nuwuvi in Las Vegas.
- 1912 Agency headquarters are moved to Las Vegas from Moapa in order to be more centralized in serving all of Nevada's Nuwuvi.
- 1912 Two Executive Orders are issued adding land to the Moapa Reservation. The second order cancels the first and adds 128.37 acres.
- 1914 The land at Moapa is allotted to the Nuwuvi. Each family gets 12 to 25 acres of "good land."
- 1915 Indian Peak Reservation set aside by Executive Order.
- 1916 Supervision of the Shivwits Reservation and the Cedar City Colony are placed under the Superintendent of the Goshute Indian School in Northern Utah.
- 1916 Woodrow Wilson issues an Executive Order officially setting aside 26,880 acres for the Shivwits Indian Reservation.
- 1917 The Cedar City Nuwuvi are reported to be living on land owned by the Mormon Church.
- 1918 A new school is built at Moapa, and agency headquarters are returned there from Las Vegas.

- 1919 Moapa Superintendent reports that over 200 Indians use the Las Vegas Colony as their place of residence or stop-over. He asks what their status is. Later in the year, he proves in court that they are wards of the government.
- 1919 Goshute agent reports that the Mormon church is willing to sell five and one-half acres of land kept in trust for the Nuwuvi at Cedar City to the government.
- 1920's Various epidemics decimate Nuwuvi population.
- 1925 Moapa day school is closed.
- 1925 Government appropriates money to purchase land for the Cedar City Nuwuvi. The Nuwuvi are moved by the local residents in the same year because of a tuberculosis epidemic, but the new land is owned by the Mormon church. Government funds are never spent and are returned to surplus.
- 1928 Congressional Act establishes Koosharem Reservation.
- 1929 Congressional Act establishes Kanosh Reservation.
- 1934 The Indian Reorganization Act passes Congress.
- 1937 Congress enlarges the Shivwits Reservation and provides for a stock driveway across it.
- 1940 Shivwits band organizes a government under the Indian Reorganization Act, establishing a constitution and by-laws.
- 1941 When all the original trust grants on the allotments at Moapa run out, all of the reservation lands are restored to tribal ownership.
- 1942 Moapa band organizes a government with constitution and bylaws.
- 1945 The well which was dug in 1938 at Las Vegas dries up. This prevents the Nuwuvi from planting their traditional gardens for food.

- 1946 The Indian Claims Commission is formed to handle Indian claims against the government.
- 1947 A list of Indian groups ready for self-dependence and termination of federal aid does not include any Nuwuvi.
- 1951 The Nuwuvi file a claim suit with the Indian Claims Commission.
- 1953 Senator Watkins meets with Nuwuvi and Pahvant tribal representatives at Richfield, Utah, to discuss termination.
- 1954 A second list of Indians ready for termination judges the Nuwuvi as unready.
- 1954 Congress holds hearings on termination.
- 1954 President Eisenhower signs bill terminating the Utah Nuwuvi's special trust relationship with the federal government. Included are the Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Kanosh, and Koosharem bands of Nuwuvi and Utes. Cedar City band is overlooked.
- 1957 Final termination date. Tribal lands are placed under the control of Walker Bank in Salt Lake City through a trusteeship. The Indians retained subsurface rights for ten years. Federal indebtedness is cancelled, but tribal lands are subject to taxation.
- 1950's(late) Most of the Indian Peak band moves to the Cedar City colony. Most of the Shivwits band moves into local towns.
- 1965 Indian Claims Commission makes judgment in favor of the Nuwuvi, awarding \$8,250,000, for 29,935,000 acres.
- 1965 Las Vegas band draws up a proposed government with a constitution and by-laws.
- 1968 Congress authorizes payment of Indian Claims Commission judgment to the Nuwuvi.

- 1968 Moapa band refuses to renew a ten-year lease on their farming land and begins to organize a farming cooperative.
- 1970 The Secretary of Interior approves Las Vegas tribal government plan.
- 1971 Claims money distributed to the Nuwuvi.
- 1972 Moapa band votes to develop a leather craft and beading company to complement their farming business. The tribe also completes 32 three-bedroom block homes.
- 1973 Utah Nuwuvi receive a \$491,999 grant to build multi-purpose complexes to develop jobs.

Appendix B

Land Claim

From the time whites first began to take Nuwuvi land, they were ill-at-ease about how to deal with the native inhabitants. They established towns, farms, forts and missions. They professed peaceful coexistence while driving the Nuwuvi into the desert. Yet, the whites sometimes openly admitted the Nuwuvi's right to the land. They recognized the morality of legally extinguishing the Nuwuvi title to the land and making some form of compensation. They often considered making a treaty of cession with the Nuwuvi. A treaty was drawn up in 1865 and signed by a handful of Nuwuvi who were not representatives of the whole tribe. The provisions of the treaty were incredibly unfair. They asked the Nuwuvi to go to the Uintah Reserve and compensated them with a mere pittance, most of which was to go to the signers of the treaty. Fortunately, the treaty was never ratified. However, it stands as an admission of the Nuwuvi's right to the land.

The whites were unable to satisfactorily justify their presence on Nuwuvi and Ute land. That fact is expressed with confusion in the following statement:

Whereas, by reason of the acquisition of Upper California and New Mexico, and the subsequent organization of the Territorial Governments of New Mexico and Utah by the acts of the Congress of the United States, these Territories have organized Governments within and upon what would otherwise be considered Indian Territory, and which really is Indian Territory so far as the right of soil is involved, thereby presenting the novel feature of a white legalized government on Indian lands. . . .¹

This statement does not succeed in making it clear how whites could have a legalized government over land which is not theirs.

The Nuwuvi also were well-aware of their rights to their native land. William R. Palmer, sympathetic to the Nuwuvi point of view, observed that:

Utah was as definitely divided on property lines among the Indians as it is today, and property rights were quite as much respected by the Indians as we now respect land titles. The only difference was with us the individual holds the land while with them the clan held all rights in common.²

Palmer also goes on to ask his people to imagine themselves in the place of the Nuwuvi:

What would we do if a stronger people should come in upon us, look over our country, select the fertile valleys in which we have our headquarters, settle down there and tell us to move on? Suppose that people, in justification, told us that we had no right to the country because we were not making the best use of it, that we were obstructing progress. Suppose further that they explained that they were taking neither property nor rights from us for they were buying the ground from some unheard of being called "Government". . . . We took the land from the Indians—that much, I presume is admitted. . . . If one made a map of the Indian tribal homelands one would find in most cases that their locations were almost identical with the places selected by the Mormon pioneers for settlement. . . . I have been amazed to see the extent to which our civilization has stepped in their very tracks. Almost without exception the Indian tribal headquarters marks the site of some present day Mormon town. We drove them from their homes and completely pauperized them but we have given them practically nothing in return. . . . The Government, too, on the specious excuse that they were "roving bands," even though they never left their tribal homelands, has steadfastly refused to extend the help necessary to give the dejected and miserable remnants of these once independent colonies a fighting chance for a tolerable existence. There is little to be proud of in all our Indian relations.³

It is clear that the Nuwuvi were no more nomadic than the average American today, going here and there to pick up goods, occasionally visiting relatives or friends in other states and sometimes changing residence. They had firmly established laws and knew the boundaries of their country. It is interesting that many of the whites, at least for a time, observed these laws. Jacob Hamblin, the so-called "Apostle to the Lamanites," led a company of emigrants through Nuwuvi territory:

Over the strenuous protests of the company Hamblin turned all the animals over to the Indians to herd during the night and no

provision was made for protection should the Indians make an assault.

Much to the surprise of the emigrants the horses were brought in the next morning well fed and not one missing. No one had been molested and none of the company's possessions had been touched. Hamblin had invoked the protection of the guest law and if any Indian had violated its provisions by theft or violence he would have been punished by his tribesmen.⁴

There are also instances of the Nuwuvi demanding that the whites submit to Nuwuvi laws. This makes more sense than the whites trying and punishing Indian people by the white laws, when they were, after all, on Nuwuvi land. In Cedar City during 1870, a white accidentally shot a Nuwuvi. The local Nuwuvi demanded that the man be killed, for "if by criminal carelessness an Indian caused the death of another, the dead man's family could demand the death of the guilty man or one of his relatives. . . ."⁵ The white was not killed, though.

The gradual taking over of Nuwuvi lands by the whites was not obvious to the Nuwuvi at first, for they assumed that the whites were merely coming to live among them as foreigners. The whites professed that their intentions were to live peacefully among the Nuwuvi. The Nuwuvi did not all realize that the whites would try to control their lives to achieve that peace.

Even today the American conscience is not entirely at ease about its treatment of the native inhabitants. As were some white settlers in the 1800's, the U. S. government is still aware of the land rights of the native inhabitants and of the morality of some sort of compensation. The Indian Claims Commission was formed in 1946 to handle Indian claims against the government. According to the provisions of the Claims Commission, if an Indian suit were successful, the Indians were to be paid by the government for their land at the price of the land at the time it was seized. This price was to include the value of the agricultural and mineral wealth. Of course, the Claims Commission cannot hope to pay the Indians fully for the often forceful taking of their homeland, the loss of its use for all these years, and the resultant impoverishment of their people.

In 1951 the Nuwuvi filed a claims suit with the Indian Claims Commission. The Chemehuevi initially filed a separate suit, but it

was later combined with the Nuwuvi claim. However, in the final judgment the Chemehuevi were paid separately.

The settlement of the case took almost twenty years, and it was not until 1965 that the Commission made its final judgment. The claims money was not actually distributed until 1971. The expert testimony, perhaps the most valuable part of the court proceedings besides the testimony of Nuwuvi representatives, is not yet available to the public, shrouding much of the case in mystery. The plaintiffs' expert witness normally testifies about such things as aboriginal boundaries of the country and generally tries to prove the plaintiffs' occupancy of a specific area.

From the court proceedings that are available to the public, we can learn something about how the case proceeded. Two things seem to be notable about the case. First, the precise value of the land was not determined. A compromise settlement was arranged by the Nuwuvi lawyers in which the government agreed not to add up offsets (money or aid given to the Nuwuvi by the government) against the Nuwuvi, if the lawyer fixed a "reasonable" sum for the land. As Claims Commission records read:

No findings on title were made by the Commission and no hearings were held with respect to issues of value or offsets, these having been the subject of the compromise settlement. . . . It is further found that proof of the value of the area and the date of taking, had the case proceeded normally, would have taken considerable time and would have been rather expensive. The matter of offsets, oftentimes a cause of delay, was eliminated by the compromise. It also appears that the attorneys and their clients were both benefited in different degrees by the early settlement of the cases.

It is unfortunate that the Commission did not specify which of the two parties, the lawyers or the Nuwuvi, benefited most from the early settlement of the case. At any rate, in the final judgment the Nuwuvi were awarded \$8,250,000 for 29,935,000 acres of land (this figure apparently being only an estimate, as the Commission states: "The overall acreage involved in all of these claims is approximately 29,935,000 acres, we are advised.") This adds up to about 27¢ per acre.

It should be noted that the boundaries of Nuwuvi territory were described only roughly; nor was the date of taking precisely determined. (Date of taking is determined for the Chemehuevi as 1853

and the boundaries of this band were also described in detail). The Commission and the lawyers were apparently satisfied with the following conclusion:

... taking of the lands in question couldn't have occurred before 1847, the year the Mormon pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley, and possibly began shortly thereafter and continued on into the 1880's or later. This matter of the taking date is of considerable importance in fixing fair market value because ordinarily the later the taking date the higher the market value.

It is probable that had the taking date, the value of the land at the time of the taking, and the boundaries of Nuwuvi territory been precisely determined, the Nuwuvi would have received more money. As the case becomes known more fully and widely, perhaps the question of the fairness of the court's decision will be reopened. Another aspect of the case may also be the basis for more hearings. Although expert witnesses included land south of the Colorado River in Utah and Arizona in the maps of Nuwuvi territory, claim to this land was dropped during the proceedings. The Navajo and Hopi were also claiming this land south of the Colorado. The Nuwuvi lawyers decided not to press the Nuwuvi claim, even though the evidence is ample that this was at one time their land. The lawyers apparently felt they could not establish exclusive use and occupancy. In such cases, where two tribes claim the same area and both have evidence of use and occupancy, the settlement for the land is often split. Had the lawyers made such a claim, the Nuwuvi settlement again could have been larger. As it is, Nuwuvi now living in this area did not receive any claims money. These Nuwuvi are in fact preparing a claim and hopefully they will receive some compensation.

The disbursement of the funds (\$7,522 to each adult Nuwuvi) and how they were to be used became the subject of an investigation and report by the Department of Interior. In 1968 a social and economic survey of the Utah Nuwuvi was undertaken. The purpose of the study was to determine how the claims money could best be spent. The study reveals that the Nuwuvi were much less well off than their white neighbors and that more than \$7,000 dollars would be required if they were to "start at go" in the white community. The social and economic survey was conducted among 121 Nuwuvi

families living in Southern Utah. It was found that the average yearly income of these families was only \$2,746, with large differences from family to family. Some families received less than \$1,000 dollars per year.⁶

The paved road often stops just as it enters the Indian community. Such is often the case with other services provided to the white community by the city and the state. Of the five bands considered in the survey, four (the exception is the Cedar City band which is living on land owned by the Mormon Church) were put in the "no man's land" created by termination. These people lost the services, such as they were, provided by the BIA. After having lost their special relationship with the federal government, nearby or adjacent utilities were not required to extend such services as running water, sewage and garbage disposal, lighting and pavement of roads, since the reservation areas were not inside the city limits. Small in proportion to the white community and considerably less well off, the political clout of the Indian community is not great. The Nuwuvi, having dealt through the BIA in the past were unfamiliar with the rights and political privileges of citizenship.

Though the award granted by the Indian Claims Commission is an acknowledgment of foul play in the past, the money could do little to help the Nuwuvi today. The findings of the Economic and Social Survey indicate that more than \$7,522 per family is needed to rectify the wrongs of the past.

Footnotes

The Nuwuvi

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Appendix B

Land Claim

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